Daily Report

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SED Security Chief's Son Spied on Schoolmates

AU2511092888 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 24 Nov 88 p 1

["SED Takes Tougher Course; Perestroyka Debate Prohibited"]

[Excerpts] Berlin—The GDR leadership is taking an increasingly tougher stance against the advocates of glasnost and perestroyka. [passage omitted]

It has been learned from reliable people within party circles that a son of SED Security Chief Egon Krenz, who is regarded as the "crown prince" of state and party leader Erich Honecker, betrayed four pupils from the Carl von Ossietzky School who had asked what purpose GDR military parades served and, as a result, were expelled from the secondary school. Among them is also the son of Sebastian Kleinschmidt, deputy chief editor of the magazine SINN UND FORM [MEANING AND FORM], which published information on Stalin's crimes that had been kept secret, and critical analyses of these crimes. [passage omitted]

Politburo member Werner Krolikowski is very likely to succeed the deceased Werner Felfe and to assume responsibility for agricultural policy.

Members of East Berlin Peace Circle Arrested

AU2311104688 Munich SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 23 Nov 88 p 1

[EDP report: "Members of East Berlin Peace Circle Arrested"]

[Text] Berlin—According to well-informed circles in West Berlin, 10 members of the Peace Circle of the East Berlin Confessional Church in the Treptow city district were temporarily arrested on Monday [21 November]. While some of them were reportedly released during the night, three citizens remained imprisoned. They are the subject of investigations on suspicion of belonging to a "subversive group." The persons arrested are the couple Renate and Wolfgang Hope and Juergen Domann. They are said to have applied for permission to leave the country some time ago. The people concerned presumably participated in the organization of a church service entitled "Peace Here, Peace There" [Frieden nah, Frieden fern]. The apartments of the detainees are reported to have been searched and papers confiscated.

Green Network Member Not Permitted To Leave

AU2411200188 Munich SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 24 Nov 88 p 2

["Hz." report: "Travel Prohibition for Member of GDR Environmental Association"]

[Text] Berlin—Again, Carlo Jordan, cofounder of the "Green Network of the Evangelical Church in the GDR" has not been allowed to leave the country to participate in environmental activities abroad. On Monday evening [21 November], without being giving any reason, he was not permitted to fly to Prague to participate in the city ecology seminar of an environmental group which cooperates with the state youth association. In contrast, two or three other members of the Green Network were allowed to go to Prague to attend the international seminar which lasts until today, Thursday. For 2 years, Jordan has been under GDR arrest, as it is called here. That is to say, not only is he prohibited from going to Western countries, but he cannot enter Eastern countries either.

Honecker Receives Outgoing U.S. Envoy

LD2511045588 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1024 GMT 24 Nov 88

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the SED and chairman of the GDR's Council of State, today received U.S. Ambassador Francis Joseph Meehan for a farewell visit at the Council of State building.

At the center of the talks were current aspects of international developments and bilateral relations. With regard to the positive tendencies in the global situation, the parties stressed that the extension of political dialogue and cooperation between the GDR and the United States is in accordance with the times and contributes to improving the international atmosphere.

Erich Honecker thanked the ambassador for his work in the GDR and wished him all the best for the future.

Church Official on Relations With FRG

AU2411145788 Munich SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 24 Nov 88 p 2

["Hz." report: "Evangelical Church in the GDR: 'Reunification Is Not Possible'; However, Common Cultural Features Stressed at the Same Time"]

[Text] Berlin—In the opinion of Manfred Stolpe, deputy chairman of the Federation of Evangelical Churches in the GDR, the two German states will not be reunited. As Stolpe said during a ceremony on the occasion of the 15th anniversary of the establishment of the special construction program of the church in East Berlin, the differences in the FRG and GDR systems are rather bothersome. Nevertheless, special human relations over the borders remain a political reality in Germany, as do the language and culture and the special relationship between the Protestant churches in the two parts of Germany. In this context, Stolpe advised the Protestant Church in the FRG to bring about a realistic interpretation of the Fundamental Law.

Referring to the role of the church in the GDR, Stolpe affirmed the view —which was questioned by state authorities—that the church does not only have a merely spiritual but also a social mission. Although it does not regard itself as opposition in the state, it has to act when

individuals are in trouble, Stolpe said. The word of God does not end at the church door; on the contrary, the commitment to peace, justice, and the preservation of the Creation belongs to the obedience of faith. The church does not work toward the destabilization of the socialist social order, but it advocates improvements.

Leaders Greet PPR Leaders on Independence Day

AU1711212788 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 16 Nov 88 p 5

[ND report: "Joint Struggle for Peace and Disarmament; GDR Sends Congratulations on the 70th Anniversary of Regaining Poland's Independence"]

[Text] East Berlin—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, and Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, have sent the following congratulatory telegram to Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the PPR State Council, and to Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, chairman of the PPR Council of Ministers:

Dear Comrades:
On the occasion of the 70th anniversary of regaining Poland's independence we convey to you, the PZPR Central Committee, the State Council, the PPR Council of Ministers, and the fraternal Polish people cordial greetings and congratulations on behalf of the SED Central Committee, the State Council, the Council of Ministers, and the people of the GDR.

With the rebirth of the Polish state in November 1918—the decisive preconditions of which were established by the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia—the things that the Polish people had been striving for in a century-long dedicated and persistent struggle, also with the support of German revolutionaries and democrats, were fulfilled.

The establishment of the worker-peasant power on both sides of the Oder-Neisse peace border after the destruction of German fascism, to which Polish soldiers and resistance fighters also made an important contribution, established lasting foundations for a historically new relationship between our neighboring peoples. On the tested fundament of the firm militant community between the SED and the PZPR, varied relations of friendship and overall cooperation, which have grown over decades, have developed—relations that are strengthening socialism in both countries and constitute a lasting element of peace and stability in Europe.

Rest assured that we will continue to do everything to further consolidate the fraternal relations between the SED and the PZPR and between the GDR and the PPR for the welfare of the people in both states and to actively continue the joint struggle for peace and disarmament in the world.

We wish you, dear comrades, and the entire fraternal Polish people, much success in fulfilling the demanding tasks that you face as well as good health and personal well-being.

Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council; Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers.

Comparison of Honecker-Ceausescu Joint Statement

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German on 19-20 November carries on pages 1 and 2 the joint press statement which was released in East Berlin on 18 November at the close of the 2-day visit to the GDR by Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP Central Committee and president of the SR of Romania. The NEUES DEUTSCHLAND report, entitled "Joint Press Statement," has been compared with the ADN International Service version published in the 23 November East Europe Daily Report, page 20, revealing the following variations:

Page 21, paragraph one, sentence two reads in NEUES DEUTSCHLAND: ...application of the general legalities of the construction of socialism in the existing conditions in Romania, while taking into... (replacing "joint" with "general" and adding "in Romania")

Same page, last paragraph, sentences one and two read: ...the situation in the world, positive developments in international relations have become discernible. The conclusion of... (providing dropped elements)

SCINTEIA Statement Comparison

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 19 November carries on page 5 the "Joint Communique at the End of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's Working Visit to the GDR" from 17-18 November. The SCINTEIA report has been compared with the ADN International Service version published in the 23 November East Europe Daily Report, page 20, revealing the following variations:

The sequence of listing the names of the Romanian and GDR leaders, parties, and countries is reversed throughout the item.

Paragraph three, end of first sentence through paragraph four, only sentence, reads in SCINTEIA: ...developed socialist society. [new paragraph]

The talks between... (deleting passage)

Paragraph seven, end of first sentence, reads: ...key technologies, primarily electronics. In accordance with... (replacing "microelectronics" with "electronics")

Page 21, column two, last paragraph, first sentence reads: ...in international relations positive steps have been made, a beginning on the road to nuclear disarmament through the conclusion of... (providing dropped elements)

Page 22, column one, fourth full paragraph, first sentence, reads: ...a current requirement to further dynamize the process of... (rewording)

Parliament Elects Nemeth as New Premier

Vote Called 'Overwhelming'

LD2411111288 Budapest MTI in English 1056 Gmt 24 Nov 88

[Text] Budapest, November 24, 1988 (MTI-ECONONEWS) [as received]—The Hungarian parliament voted overwhelmingly for Mr Miklos Nemeth to take the post of prime minister after Mr Karoly Grosz, who also holds the post of general secretary of the HSWP, formally resigned as prime minister today. The vote was 27 against, and 36 abstained.

Mr Miklos Nemeth, 40, was born into a peasant family in 1948. He graduated from the Karl Marx University of Economics. He stayed on for six years as a lecturer at the university. Later he was appointed deputy head of department in the National Planning Office. He joined the party in 1968.

In 1981 he was called on to work for the Economic Policy Committee of the Central Committee of the party. He was one of the master-minds of the economic development programme. In June 1987 he was elected chairman of the Economic Committee and of the economic work team of the CC.

In May 1988 the national party conference elected him to the Political Committee of the HSWP.

Mr Miklos Nemeth is married with two sons. His wife, also an economics graduate, is a senior executive in a company. Mr Nemeth enjoys playing tennis in his leisure.

Miklos Nemeth said in a recent radio interview "If in 1972-73 the Hungarian Party had given a firm and uniform backing to the economic reform process launched in 1968, the halt could have been avoided. The solution for the Hungarian economy is now to create an economy that values capital and resources move according to the capital ability to make profit."

Miklos Nemeth said "there is the idea that independent experts should be hired for working out a price, wage, currency and budget reform package, and have it introduced from 1990, for it is feared that failing to do so, there will remain no room left for the reform to work in. Independent experts, from the international monetary fund and the world bank, for example, were consulted also earlier on matters of creating an exchange and securities market in Hungary, and so did we solicit the advice of prominent Hungarian-born economic authorities living abroad..."

Mr Nemeth called the Hungarian economic management reform launched in 1968 "an illusion of regulation" as at that time the decision-making processes were left intact.

Interviewed on New Position

LD2411204888 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1830 GMT 24 Nov 88

[Interview with Premier Miklos Nemeth by 'Newsreel' Editor in Chief Endre Aczel—date and place not given; no video available]

[Text] [Aczel] I think you start in an advantageous position, for you are the chosen and elected premier, in the most democratic conditions of the past 4 decades. Surely many people know, but there are many who do not know that you are 40 years old. If we do not count Andras Hegedus, then you are the youngest premier of the past 4 decades, too. May I ask, what you predict for yourself?

[Nemeth] Well, first of all, youth is not a virtue but a condition. At the same time, it ensures certain possibilities. I would like to make the most of these possibilities. As to how much I predict for myself? I would like to realize as soon as possible all that which I told to parliament. And, I also know that if we try to break through those difficult barriers which are present still today in society, in the economy, with more impetus, resolution, with more resolution than up to now...

[Aczel, interrupting] With less haste, quoting the former premier.

[Nemeth] With less haste, but at the same time, to break through them showing more resolution, then in all probability, I will not belong to the category of the most popular premiers or people in this country. All the same, I say that only by undertaking this is it possible for us to act.

[Aczel] Now let me ask, to my knowledge this government which you are leading from today, or have been leading for a few hours, this government has a program. Do you undertake this program? It is all the more justified to ask this, for you were already the Central Committee secretary responsible for the economy when this program came into being. Do you undertake it when in the more than 2 years which have passed since then, today I read for example that this government is anti-ventures, whereas in my evaluation, the entrepreneurism is the foundation of this program.

[Nemeth] Briefly, I undertake the program. I participated in preparing it, working it out, not just as the Central Committee secretary responsible for the economy, but also as one who is something of an expert. In my view, there is no reason for us to give up the program. We must implement the program, this is what the public opinion of the country wishes and expects from us, as well as the world abroad.

At the same time, independent from the change or exchange of premiers, it is my opinion that as the conditions change, as we accumulate knowledge, the store of tools realizing the strategic points of the program must continually be renewed.

As for this government program being antiventures, I would not say this, for the government program itself has set the enlivening of ventures as its aim. I myself will be intent on us maintaining the restrictive policy to date, alongside the financial severity, the severe regulating of demand and the demanding of achievement. At the same time we must allow, step by step, much more scope for ventures, for the neutrality of competition. I trust that on the basis of an acceptable, suitable 1988, if it is managed to fulfil the requirements of the 1989 financial plan, then if you were to put this question to me in 1990, I would be able to reply already: look, these elements helping resurgence are increasingly present in the government plan.

[Aczel] If I understood correctly you are asking for patience, patience for at least a year and a half, patience for some kind of optimism to take root in those who are affected by what was said just now.

[Nemeth] I will say honestly, I do not like to make promises. The age of promises has passed. I only mention patience and confidence because without confidence and patience I feel it is impossible to responsibly solve those problems and tasks which face the country. I do not ask this for myself or in connection with my person, but for the whole of the government.

[Aczel] Now, on this point, since you said you do not like to make promises, I do not even want you to promise that you will transform your government. But, as could be experienced here in the house too, for many deputies it does not at all go without saying that the premier has arrived, the government however, remains. How do you view it, do you think there will be a need to change the government, or do you want to get to know your colleagues in the course of working, and then decide after that?

[Nemeth] In connection with the last part of your question, although I know and am familiar with many things, for I was and am in contact with the work and leaders of very many ministries, as Central Committee secretary responsible for the economy, all the same, I say that that was a different position and this will be a different position. This is as it should be. So, I would like to answer in the work, on the basis of the work, the question of in what kind of organization and with which people I wish to solve the problems facing the government.

For this, I would like to make consultations of the widest possible range. When I have a formulated standpoint and opinion, then I will make those known.

[Aczel] But you would not be willing to put a time limit on this I suppose?

[Nemeth] No, no, I am familiar with the complexity of the task, and I also know how many kinds of interests and points of view must be coordinated in such a process. I can promise one thing however, that professional skill, a sense of vocation, moral purity, integrity, and a little less bureaucratic approach, will be the guiding principles on the basis of which I will look at the individual people.

Nemeth, Nyers 'Biographical Notes' Given

LD2411231388 Budapest MTI in English
1910 GMT 24 Nov 88

[Text] Budapest, November 24 (MTI)—The National Assembly elected Rezso Nyers minister of state with 10 votes against and 15 abstentions.

In the interval of the parliamentary session, Miklos Nemeth and Rezso Nyers took the official oath before Bruno F. Straub, president of the Presidential Council. Present at the event were Karoly Grosz, HSWP general secretary, Gyula Kallai, president of the National Council of the Patriotic People's Front, and Imre Katona, secretary of the Presidential Council.

Biographical notes:
Miklos Nemeth
He was born in a peasant family in Monok in 1948. Graduated from the Karl Marx University of Economics where he was a lecturer from 1971. From 1977, deputy department head at the National Planning Office. From 1981, staff member and then deputy head of the Economic Policy Department of the HSWP Central Committee. Late 1986 he was appointed head of the Economic Policy Department. In June 1987, he was elected secretary of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party.

Member of the HSWP since 1968. He was elected member of the Central Committee in 1987 and member of the Political Committee in May 1988. Since June 1987, president of the Economic Policy Committee and the Economic Work Community of the HSWP CC.

He was elected member of parliament on the national list on October 5, this year.

Rezso Nyers
He was born in Budapest on March 21, 1923. Originally in the printing trade, until 1944 he worked as a typesetter, then as the deputy secretary of the Kispest organization of the Social Democratic Party. From 1948, he worked as an organizing secretary of the Hungarian Working People's Party in Pest County and then as political staff member of the central leadership. In the 1950's he was head of department at the Ministry of Internal Trade, deputy president and then president of the National Council of Consumer Cooperatives (Szovosz). From 1960 to 1962 minister of finance, then secretary of the HSWP Central Committee until 1974

and member of the Political Committee from 1966 to 1975. Since 1981 advisor of the Institute for Economics of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

Party member since 1940 and member of the HSWP Central Committee since 1957. In may 1988, he was again member of the Political Committee.

Member of parliament since 1958. President of the Trade Commission of Parliament since 1980 and of the reform ad hoc commission since October 1987. Member of the New March Front.

PPF's Huszar Interviewed on Nemeth, Nyers

LD2311221588 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 23 Nov 88

[Text] At the Presidium session of the National Council of the Patriotic People's Front [PPF] Karoly Grosz briefed participants about the proposals adopted yesterday at the Central Committee session. In accord with the view of the Central Committee, the PPF Presidium proposes Miklos Nemeth as prime minister and Rezso Nyers as minister of state to the National Assembly for acceptance. Attila Balint's interview was prepared after the PPF decision.

[Balint] If I remember correctly Karoly Grosz said 16 months ago that there was hardly a man who would envy his prime ministerial chair. This same sentence might be voiced in parliament tomorrow. Did preparatory work reflect this decision? Now, following the presidium session of the National Council of the PPF, Istvan Huszard, PPF secretary general, can discuss this decision, too.

[Huszar] Yes, I think that this same sentence could be voiced tomorrow by the new prime minister because together with the Central Committee, the PPF Presidium proposes the release of Karoly Grosz and proposes naming a new prime minister.

[Balint] Miklos Nemeth is proposed for the prime ministerial post, but several names were discussed in the preparation. It is well known that after the initial politburo consultation three names—Pal Ivanyi, Miklos Nemeth and Imre Pozsgay—were submitted to social consultation. These names were not placed in order of importance, they were proposals of equal value. For me, the style of the preparation was a great joy in that prior to the Politburo decision, a wide-ranging consultation was carried out with the Central Committee members, PPF Presidium members and with parliamentary deputies. It was on the basis of these consultations that the proposal first evolved in the Politburo. This was unanimously adopted by the Central Committee; today the PPF Presidium also adopted it....

[Balint] Also unanimously?

[Huszar] Regarding the prime ministerial vote, there were three votes against and two abstentions; in the case of Rezso Nyers, there were two abstentions....

[Balint] Has any other proposal been raised here today at all at the PPF Presidium session?

[Huszar] It has been suggested here, too, that Imre Pozsgay is a suitable personality for the head of government. It was also suggested that Rezso Nyers would be the prime minister and Mikos Nemeth would be the minister of state or deputy prime minister. The contributions were not formal ones, for show only; thought was given as to how it would best managed.

[Balint] In other words, according to this, those who forecasted that you would finish the Presidium session in half an hour because the proposals were a foregone conclusion were not right. Ultimately, what brought the decision in favor of Miklos Nemeth, in view of the debates today?

[Huszar] An energetic, well-prepared economic strategist who is able to work hard is needed today to head the government. It was emphasized that there was a need to think in terms of a team behind which those intellectual forces that strengthen these strategic thoughts in the government stand. In other words, Rezsoe Nyers and Miklos Nemeth were proposed together. In other words, it was not even raised that Miklos Nemeth [would be prime minister] without Rezso Nyers and Rezsoe Nyers would serve without Miklos Nemeth.

[Balint] Speaking of a team...today the Hungarian prime minister has no license to form a team.

[Huszar] He has the license to initiate the transformation of the government, to carry out personnel changes....

[Balint] But only indirectly....

[Huszar] Well, indirectly....Everywhere in the world it is ultimately the political forces that propose the person who will become prime minister....

[Balint] Then he is entrusted with forming a government.

[Huszar] That is right. In Hungary, ultimately this idea is seriously raised in the reform of the Constitution and we must certainly advance in these respects. Completely separate from this, last year the government adopted a concept regarding changes in the government's work. This concept's implementation is underway, we are in the process: To put it plainly, the transformation of the government has not ended with this concept.

Nemeth, Nyers Hold News Conference

LD2411180188 Budapest MTI in English 1518 GMT 24 Nov 88

[Text] Budapest, November 24 (MTI)—The first step to advancement should be to stabilize political and economic conditions in Hungary, new Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth told journalists during the interval of the parliamentary session. Mr Nemeth said the government's stabilization scheme was viable with the necessary amendments. He said that in future, aptitude was to be the main criterion for selecting people for leading posts, instead of membership of the party. The party leadership had used this guiding principle when it proposed the candidate for president of the Presidential Council to the summer session of parliament exclusively on merit.

In connection with the election of Rezso Nyers as state minister, he said, "I am happy to have the wealth of experience, commitment to the Hungarian reform policy and the international prestige embodied in Rezso Nyers, who has been one of the initiators of the Hungarian economic reform as CC secretary since the 1960s. This is the economic reform which we now want to accelerate," Mr Nemeth said.

Mr Nyers pointed out it was important for the economic and political reform process to be in adequate balance, and for the country's financial affairs to be settled in accordance with long-term plans. He said, "I would like to see a People's Front organized behind the economic reform. I would like our administration to be a People's Front government, in keeping with the idea Mr Nemeth explained to parliament.

Answering questions on possible changes in the government, Mr Nemeth stated that the kind of organization and people needed would depend on the judgement of the tasks and deeds. The matter was not to be treated in a campaign-like manner, he said, and asked for time to come up with his proposals.

Speaking about the same subject, Mr Nyers said, "I believe several factors have to be considered as a background for the government's work." First, he mentioned the party and its preparatory work, then the scientific workshops led by the academy, and the social organizations willing and able to cooperate with the government.

In reply to the quesiton whether he wants to carry on the programme of the Grosz government, Miklos Nemeth said, "I am convinced that it has to be proven to the country's public opinion, as well as to our allies and external partners ready to cooperate with us and to the sober-minded circles of the West that the Hungarian party and state leadership is able not only to declare but also to continue the programme we have pursued recently." He said that he naturally agreed with the central stabilization scheme which was prepared with his contribution. At the same time, he added that irrespective of the change on the prime minister's post, the system of means and priorities have to be altered with the progress of time, which, unlike the past, we shall do without delay.

Speaking about the excessive gaining ground of private property in Hungary, Mr Nyers said this was unrealistic in both the economic and political sense, but termed the growing importance of private property as necessary. He said that private property has to enjoy greater security to serve the aims of society. Mr Nyers urged the renewal of the socialist cooperative and state property which he considered essential. He also attached great importance to the devleopment of the new mixed property form.

Asked about the new government programme, Mr Nemeth said that the Grosz cabinet started reorganization of governmental work, and the second stage was to follow. In December the government is to consult parliament on issues of organization and personal.

Speaking about the coalitional nature of the government, the prime minister said that he interpreted the issue that aptitude and awareness of social policy will be the basic criteria for people to take leading positions. He also pointed out the importance of the democratic election of leaders. He said the changes of personnel proposed by the party leadership after the party conference are indicative of this endeavour.

Mr Nemeth said that openness and publicity were fundamental aims. As for participation in the Tengiz project, he said, "We shall meet our commitments and finish the first and the second stages, but after that we shall cease to participate unless new circusmtances arise.

In connection with this abstention from voting on the continuation of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros Project at the latest parliament session, Rezso Nyers said," I do not wish to be an opposition within the government. I have to decide whether to accept the responsibility of the government or the opposition. My opinion on the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros Project has not changed. I am aware that compromises are necessary in political life."

Nyers Queried on Economic Reform

LD2411202888 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1830 GMT 24 Nov 88

[From the "Newsreel" program; correspondent Anna Berecz interviews Rezso Nyers MSZMP Central Committee Politburo member; date and place not specified; no video available—recorded]

[Text] [Berecz] You came to a standstill, you stood aside, or you were put aside, and you have come back. What does this amount to? A redress?

[Nyers] I do not have any salient feelings in connection with this, because I think of the future, rather than the past. I believe that it is the historians and not politicians who should deal with what was passed by. I am a politician.

[Berecz] So, you believe that there is now no way back, that only reform is the sole possibility for extricating ourselves?

[Nyers] It can be said now that it is a historical constraint. The party recognizes this, and I believe that the progressive, political-thinking segment of Hungarian society recognizes it.

[Berecz] In his parliamentary maiden speech, the new premier Miklos Nemeth, mentioned that he would like a People's Front government. I know that you, politically, favor this to the maximum, but what might this mean as regards economic policy, and what role do you undertake in this?

[Nyers] In my opinion, this means that first and foremost the reform policy must be built on the interests of the ordinary people, who constitute the bulk of society—that is how I would put it—among whom there are many different types. There are workers in large plants, workers in small plants, workers in commerce, there are small entrepreneurs, small entrepreneurs with modest incomes: We must examine the interest of these people. That is the fundamental thing. However, this interest is not a common interest in everything. Therefore, it is necessary to seek a common denominator, and in this, a People's Front can help us reveal these interests, and also the differences in outlook, views which brings them face to face with one another and brings them to a common denominator. It is on this that the government must build its economic policy. Much will follow from this.

[Berecz] In your view, what is the primary task in the economy?

[Nyers] At the moment our task remains to avert a financial crisis. It will be a difficult process to adopt in parliament—next year's state budget—so that it is balanced. It is a basic issue; our money cannot deteriorate. Money works the same in the economy as the circulatory system in our body: If there is trouble, society gets a heart attack, so money must be protected. But this must be done in such a way that we do not cripple the actors in our economic life, the large and small entrepreneurs, and if possible, we should only minimally burden the consumers, to the required extent necessary, but not to do so would be better.

Grosz Warns Against Dangers to Reform

LD2411115588 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1002 GMT 24 Nov 88

[Speech by Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, at National Assembly session in Budapest]

[Text] Esteemed National Assembly: I thank you for your assistance in my work over 17 months, and through you, for the understanding and patience of the country's population.

I have always felt your well-intentioned readiness to help. I have received much advice, and I have acted upon what I have been able to. If there is a lot which I have not been able to realize, which derives from your advice and proposals, this did not depend, primarily, on my volition, but on my capability.

I have not drawn up a balance. It is not my business to judge my deeds, my conduct. I can calmly state, however, that the main direction of the government program worked out together with you, the fact that we have stepped from the empire of talk about reform into the arena of deeds, moreover, that we have been able to ensure well-intentioned international support for our endeavors—this is the path which we must tread in the future, as well. This demands patience, consistency, level-headedness, and an ability to accept conflict.

Unfortunately, this program also has a requirement regarding time since the leadership cannot decide, from one day to the next, independent of place and time. And just like in nature, so in politics the crop must ripen between the sowing and harvest.

Unfortunately, I also have made mistakes. Many errors and inconsistencies can be (?sensed) in my deeds, in my work. I attempted to correct, while en route, what I recognized, or what you helped me to recognize.

It is also my duty to say that I feel that we must watch out, so that the desire and passion for new path-seeking, the rightful impatience, does not become unmanageable anarchy. The danger of this has increased these days.

Total denial of the values of the past, demagogy springing from lack of preparedness or from a wish to act, the lack of self-restraint—all of these sometimes sweep us in that direction. I know that some people are not aware of this danger.

The historical responsibility of this parliament is to stimulate the impetus of the reform movement, but also to guard the social order. On the other hand, the result of several decades of creative work by a people can become a heap of ruins, and the reform movement in Hungary could come to grief for decades. This would cause unforeseeable damage to our people, and to international progress, in whose service we have placed ourselves.

In conclusion, I ask the parliament, with respect, that no matter whom it elects chairman of the Council of Ministers, it should support him in his work, because, with the possession of my experience and the full awareness of my responsibility, I say that he needs it. Thank you. [applause]

Pozsgay Calls For New Constitution

LD2311144188 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 23 Nov 88

[Text] An international news conference was held prior to tomorrow's National Assembly session. Attila Balint reports:

[Balint] The country needs a new constitution. This was stated by Imre Pozsgay, minister of state, who met Hungarian and foreign journalists at the news conference held before the parliamentary session, which is to begin tomorrow.

Imre Pozsgay will speak about the reform of the political system. He is dealing with the same topic at the ongoing news conference. The minister of state said that the greatest impetus to what we often refer to as the democracy package plan was provided at the May party conference. The model of socialism used up to now is no longer effective: it has become a barrier in the way of social progress and economic functioning. The point of departure is that we must begin to develop a government characterized by independent political activity.

The chief organ of executive power is the Council of Ministers, which must be responsible not only for the economy but also for social development. This government is not closed to ideas arising from outside its framework. The main question is how to create a socialist constitutional state with a pluralistic system, Imre Pozsgay said. From one aspect, there is a real need for this in society. This is also facilitated by citizens' movements.

We need new laws. We have begun to review the constitution, but the work so far shows that the country needs a new constitution. It should reflect European traditions, human rights guarantees, and Hungarian law. However, a particularly Hungarian institution is evolving, taking human rights as its departure point.

The creation of various laws is linked to this process. Among them are the laws on the right of association; the right of assembly; the new law that is to replace the 1986 press law, in the spirit of press freedom; the regulation of the right to strike; and the modification of the electoral law.

Imre Pozsgay said that a constitutional court and an administrative tribunal will be created, and that we need to rethink the system of state control to ensure independent courts in the country.

The news conference is continuing. We will provide further details in the Evening Magazine program.

Addresses National Assembly

LD2411161288 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1057 GMT 24 Nov 88

[Speech by Imre Pozsgay, minister of state, at National Assembly in Budapest—live]

[Text] Esteemed National Assembly, dear fellow deputies: At the 27th session, on the motion of several deputies, the National Assembly decided that it would ask for a briefing from the government on the plans for the transformation of the system of political institutions, on its legislative work.

I would like to satisfy this resolution, although I have to say in advance that this is an unusual task for the government, and even more unusual for the speaker, since this is not a government report, nor legislative action, but the initiative is important. It belongs here, to the body of the National Assembly. Also stemming from the unaccustomed nature of the task is the uncertainty which has been characteristic of some members of government, including the speaker, as regards the method of submission.

What is most important in this is the topicality of the matter, that is—to step forth with the intention of informing, with a political outlook, and [word indistinct] matured political thoughts, which are able to help substantively cooperation between the National Assembly and the government.

Characteristically, I will only mention that ever since the draft was sent out in written form—as every one of my fellow deputies has been informed—numerous very significant political initiatives have occurred in precisely these spheres. To mention only the most recent, the most immediate ones: The most recent Central Committee session, again returned to the experiences of the Law of Association; the issue of the Election Law was discussed there, just like the political content of other legislative acts, and with especially great emphasis, the preparation of the law on referenda.

I have mentioned all this only because in my briefing, which I would like to add to the written report, we have endeavored to take into account the topical proposals heard, not only in the party's Central Committee, but in the social debates, in the Patriotic People's Front, in the trade unions, at the KISZ [Hungarian Communist Youth League] conference.

After such precedents, the government, at its session last week, affirmed this draft with certain supplements. Aware of this, I would like to make some supplementary remarks, and to state my opinion on some political connections.

One thing to which I would like to draw the attention of my esteemed fellow deputies is that in this whole [word indistinct] legislative process, in the numerous initiatives, and especially at next year's legislative events, much more burdening and measured tasks than before await the National Assembly; however, as our experiences have confirmed, the political situation as regards the future requires this. To the best of my knowledge, the National Assembly accepts this willingly—legislative actions in accordance with this tempo—while in the meantime, I repeat, this may mean certain burdensome tasks.

As for the reason for this tempo: Is it not rushing things? There is no question of rushing things, of course; it is a matter of interconnection. It is a matter of interconnections, which—the draft's example shows—perhaps cannot stand their ground without one another. [as heard]

I would have wished to draw attention, at the official consultation, where the committee chairmen, the heads of county groups of deputies, and the National Assembly leaders took part, to these political interconnections, and to give this kind of information in the preparatory work.

From this viewpoint, the matter of reviewing and preparing the constitution entered the discussion with special emphasis. It came up in the government debate, naturally, and also in front of the public.

Would it not be expedient to postpone certain legislative initiatives until after the examinations connected with the constitution have been completed?

In this connection I would merely like to say—and ask for your support in this—that the requirement is natural with regard to legislative initiatives affecting state organizations, because insofar as the National Assembly reaches the conclusion that a new constitution is necessary, there will, without doubt, be numerous new state institutions, or essentially changed state institutions ahead of us, and this must be extensively taken into account in the other legislative acts affecting the state organization.

At the same time, as you have heard from Premier Miklos Nemeth, the government wishes to tread the path of creating a constitutional state; the legislature has also committed itself to this. This means that certain laws must be prepared on the basis of human rights, and here, the experiences of legal history and legislation dictate—the consequences also point in this direction—that the constitution is obligated to accord with professed norms on human rights, and not the reverse. Therefore, there is no obstacle facing the National Assembly in legislative actions belonging to the sphere of human rights. So, the National Assembly appreciates this viewpoint when the government takes the necessary steps for legislative initiatives.

From this viewpoint, the new constitution will have to make provisions for the future role of the National Assembly, make provisions on the division of labor, or power, between the institution of head of state, the executive power, and the various branches of power, and on creating the necessary balance between them.

In connection with judicial organization, I would like to especially stress—although it figures in the submission—that extraordinary attention will have to be paid to the introduction of the administrative tribunal and its passing of justice. Here, too, it is possible that this work may be completed by the time the new constitution is created.

In connection with the system of state control, further debates emerged, even after the material was sent out. Here, I should merely like to mention that with the institution of an auditor's office it would be possible to create the legal guarantees in the constitution for the operation of this organ; the auditor's office must be created by the National Assembly, and it should be accountable to the National Assembly.

The review and modernization of legal regulations on state and public security was voiced as a further proposal. Remarks and initiatives have also been made for numerous other draft laws. However, the government judged that these proposals satisfied natural needs, but they did not necessarily belong to the concept-sphere on the reform of the system of political institutions. They could be established and created according to current legislative regulations.

I have mentioned political debates. Here, I would separately like to return to the experiences of the preparation of the laws on association and assembly. And I would like to indicate that it is necesary to attend to the creation of the Law on Political Parties in connection with the right of association. It appears expedient to create this after the new constitution.

Naturally, disputed issues have remained, as regards the phase of law-creation, as well. There continues to be agreement between the government and the trade union, that it is justified to regulate, in a separate trade union law, issues of relations between the trade unions and the state. Thus, it is necessary to examine the extent to which it is possible to regulate, within the framework of this law, the relationship between trade unions and employers.

The National Trade Union Council and other interest-representation organs—KIOSZ [National Organizations of Artisans], KISOSZ [National Association of Retailers], SZOEVOSZ [National Council of Consumers' Cooperatives], TOT [National Council of Producers' Cooperatives]—also would require a legal regulation or interest-representation. According to our standpoint, the Law of Association will have to deal, with suitable

generality, with these organizations, but I repeat: There is justification for a separate trade union law. The government also considers it justified to create a separate trade union law.

Debates arose and remain, for the time being, around regulation of the right to strike, around the method of exercising this right. Seeing that it is an employees' right, to which citizens are entitled, the government considers the regulation of this issue in the Labor Code to be justified. The trade union wishes to regulate the right to strike in the Trade Union Law; this debate must be taken into account in the course of preparing the law.

I consider it to be a very important addendum to create a law on handling personal statistics and on keeping statistical records of public interest. This is an issue which affects personal rights.

On the basis of such considerations and addenda, the government proposes that at the December 1988 session, the the proposals on the right of association and assembly, on the right to strike, and on the modification of the Constitution be discussed. The National Assembly should discuss at its sessions in the first half of 1989 submission on the conception of modernizing the Constitution, draft laws on the courts, on the introduction of administrative jurisiction, and on modification of the press law.

Here, too, I would like to add a brief comment, as a point of information, that according to the content and indications, of the political debates so far, it will be necessary to deal not with modifying the 1986 press law, but with enacting a new law on information in the country using the principles of press freedom.

Modification of the law on elections is also scheduled in the first half of 1989. On the basis of further political information and of experiences of preparing [words indistinct] it is possible to change, building first and foremost on the previous idea that the council elections would be separated from National Assembly elections.

In 1990, it is necessary to put before the legislature [words indistinct] on trade unions, on nationalities, and on the manner of organizing and implementing social debates, as well as on the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

On the basis of information from the committee tasked by parliament to examine the constitution, and also on the basis of other political information, it seems virtually certain that a recommendation will have to be made for a new constitution.

In connection with the introduction of these legislative viewpoints and with the determination of the legislature's tasks for 1988-89 I would also like to mention to the esteemed National Assembly that, naturally, a possibility will open for legislative initiatives to be made by numerous other political forums as well. I am, however, of the view that this organization should contain in a conceptual form those political connections without which the already mentioned constitutional situation and parallel, legal conditions for a pluralistic political system, could not be created.

Esteemed National Assembly, without hesitation plans will have to be prepared which, on the basis of the deep-reaching examination of the situation in Hungarian society, and of the reasons for the situation, will contain proposals for a comprehensive, general, radical reform affecting property relations, distribution relations. and also power-political relations. Without this commitment and the appropriate spiritual preparation, stabilization and resurgence are inconceivable in Hungarian society by now.

And here one has to say something which is perhaps unusual for many people but which I believe, nevertheless, to be necessary, virtually inevitably necessary: The unfolding, the expression, of this radical reform and of the alternatives latent in it, are not possible if we do not subject to serious criticism the existing reform as well, and mainly its implementation. In other words, I believe that the whole procedure will be honorable if we do not simply deal with the system's operational difficulties, but also with the difficulties of those who have for a long time already been attempting to give a progressive reply to these problems, but have not yet been able to find the right path.

Therefore, I am of the view—modifying somewhat the old wisdom—that one cannot step twice into one and the same reform. To put it in more everyday parlance, you cannot make a fried egg out of a scrambled egg. The new reform requires as new concept, which will tackle the management of the country's affairs in a different way from the one we tried earlier. In order for this concept to develop to reach maturity, there is a need for criticism of its concepts not only by the reform's opponents but also by its adherents.

Open and honest criticism of this kind can rescue the real values of the Hungarian reform initiative, because in this earlier reform initiative there are elements which are still valid today and which cannot be left out of the reckoning in the future. And I am of the view that we can agree on this: That here a serious person, who thinks committedly about the country's destiny, can never again wish for a return in the economy of the system of plan-direction based on decree.

One of the big gains of the reform which began in 1966-1968 is the removal of this system. At least in principle it wishes to open up a path in the management of the economy for methods of direction which extensively take into account the law of values, goods, money and market relations. An important and valuable feature of the reform at that time was the promotion of private and individual initiatives, and generally, the change in

outlook which has appeared in the revelation and representation of interests and interest-relations. This can be accepted even if this initiative has been one-sided, rudimentary, and sometimes very hesitant.

At the same time, we cannot disregard the circumstances under which the reform got underway, in which the restrictive viewpoints which were assumed on itself were asserted—primarily that it did not wish to step out, or at least openly step out of the sphere of economic activity, that it nearly spontaneously narrowed down the scope for maneuver in which it had to set forth.

We are familiar with the international and domestic reasons for this. That is—in the final analysis, this reform remained in an enlightened absolutist sphere of power, which placed the reform in a concept of permissive and patronizing, paternalist policy, not ensuring the suitable (?irreversible) conditions for it, including the political preconditions, as well.

What they watched out for vigilantly was primarily that the reform should not turn into a wide-ranging democratic social movement, saying that this entire affair was a matter for a few leaders and specialists with expertise; the people would later partake of the blessings of progress, if it was diligent enough.

The people, which has in this manner been underestimated and viewed politically as a minor, verify the prejudices formed of it; it appears as a faceless, politically anonymous mass. It is not the master of property, it is not a depository [letetemenyes] in the institutions, but according to the logic of state socialism, it is a subject which partakes of state care.

We must step beyond this concept; the basic conception of stepping beyond this was formed by the May party conference. I believe that scientific basis exists for a new reform concept based on such comprehensive, profound examination and analysis; the necessary knowledge for it exists, the political conditions are being forced in many places, out of sincere, rational insight—sometimes, of course, only under the constraining impact of the crisis.

In this concept, it must be made clear that the reform is not an objective, but a tool, which, being changed and developed according to requirements, must be used to attain a goal which points far beyond it. For this reason, the relationship toward the reform's specific ingredients must take shape, not in a spirit of loyalty and commitment, but in a spirit of suitability. It is necessary precisely on the part of the reformers to shape a strict, criticial relationship regarding every one of their own plans, since the objective is a democratic, socialist Hungary, whose every citizen is a master who directly experiences and feels responsibility for his work; and the family regards the service of the common good to be its personal interest, its own objective.

For precisely this reason I think that few dispute the economy's determining role and relations, since we feel, on our skin, all the consequences of its crisis. Here, it is nevertheless necessary to say that the basic idea of reform is not of an economic nature, because the cause of the economy's sufferings, contradictions, is also of social origin.

Setting out from this social viewpoint, among the first issues of the reform is the initiatives necessary to humanize political relations. I know, I repeat: This is not generally the real sequence of things in history. However, since the Stalinist-type of state socialism was developed politically—and it was developed from above, under the activating stimulus of the central apparatus—it is necessary to avert obstacles in politics, in order for national prosperity to be realized on the basis of economic success. [sentence as heard]

In connection with this, it is also necessary to dispel a misunderstanding, as well. The creation of the institution and structure of statehood based on a new, but nevertheless, classical European culture, is not to part from economic reform. The constitutional guarantee of human rights, political freedom, is not a consolation payment to the people for the deteriorating living conditions.

On the contrary. The reason it is necessary is because management, entrepreneurial imagination, and risk-taking have been put in political fetters. Creative force has been restricted; faith gave orders to science as to what it should know.

There is a need for a radical reform which embraces everything precisely so that the economy, on its own, should regain its determining role. The primacy of politics should mean that it plays an initiating role in the creation of free human activity. Without elaborating, but nonetheless indicating clearly a direction, I would like to describe what I have in mind when speaking about these political relations. Before everything—and this is one of the most important tasks, as was discussed just now, the relationship between the party and the state should be clarified. and this clarification must be accepted at its point of departure; we have enough political experience to know that the entanglement of the party and the state ultimately has a paralyzing influence on the entire political room for manouver. Even if I look at this situation from the poiint of view of the party's interests it is disadvantageous for the party. It kills the possibility of a movement out of it [as heard] and it degrades it into a bureaucratic organization which can hardly keep contact with its own membership, let alone society.

Naturally, it must also be taken into account that as long as there is a one-party system in the country the work of the party responsible for governing should be public not only to members of the party but to nonparty members

and to the whole of society and it should be the openness of the party work which should mean that those outside the party also control the party.

The other very important political requirement is that instead of the present permissive type of interest pleading a democratic and layered self-organization, a method of representing interests which makes the elaboration of alternatives possible should be set up. Together with this, via the guaranteed form of interest representations, the place and order of the social organizations and associations must be regulated. From this point of view I consider particularly important the creation of a law of association which considers association as a fundamental human right and not as a concession based on understanding and linked to permission. It is this which the latest stance of the Central Committee supports.

Regarding the life of the state and the organizations of the state I cannot undertake to delineate every interconnection here; but it is a natural demand to have the role, place, and functions of parliament rethought on the basis of the sovereignty of the people. It is necessary to expand the legislative role of the National Assembly in such a way that it should be able to control the work of the government not only exclusively via information released by the government itself, and to change it into a political forum by expanding publicity which may simultaneously be the political school of the country, the highest state arena of political culture.

Regarding local administration, strengthening self-government is the most important requirement and must be clarified in the Constitution, because at present this possibility of self-government exists not so much in the operational conditions but only in the way declared in the local council law and in the directive announcing its modification. I have in mind in this respect, eg. that even today our entire budget system is in conflict with the intention of self-government which the local council law describes. The election law must be modified in accordance with the demands just mentioned and it is also timely to create a law on popular referendum not only in respect of local regulations and affairs but of national affairs too.

In order to establish the new Hungarian statehood and strengthen the guarantees characteristic of a constitutional state it may be already observed—and this is more than could be seen at the beginning of the work aimed at the revision of the Constitution—that the creation of a new constitution which links human rights and the achievements of the European legal culture with the historical values of Hungarian public law [kozjog] and constitutionality is inevitable. The division of the branches of power must be regulated in the Constitution so that these will keep in balance and control each other mutually and establish suitable points of resistance in society against excesses of power by making their activity public.

The Judiciary, which will have new tasks in defending the rights of citizens and in the creation of public safety which is indispensable for economic operation, will have a very important role in this. The rethinking of the entire order of the state administration or public administration also belongs here. The constitution, naturally, will not be able to bypass this. A state administration subject to influence by power above the law cannot be effective and it is unable to protect itself against corruption.

Each of us daily sees the curious situation in which amid severe political circumstances—which in many respects also curbed freedom—we created a state administration that was not effective, where the law could not be asserted. And this is the basic problem of legality today, and not whether someone is unlawfully put behind bars or not. Because where the state can violate the law, and the state administration can be forced to violate the law, it is difficult for the law-abiding citizen to come into being. What is humiliating is not the exercise of power, or the demand for obedience, the fulfilling of obligations, but the exercise of a power which is considered unlawful by the people.

A power struggling with a severe deficit of legitimacy is in a more difficult situation than a budget battling with the gravest deficit. For it sweeps the conscientious civil servant into humiliation and inner conflict, and it leads the citizen onto the path of disobedience.

Naturally, this situation can be saved. I do not wish to give a historical review here either, nor to go back to the antecedents. All I would like to note is this: That a state which undertakes an excessive number of tasks which are foreign to its function cannot be law-abiding even with the best of intentions. The tasks will always outgrow the possibilities and capacities. For this reason it is constantly overextended and then it thinks that this is the result of people's material greed and the insatiability of institutions. However, all this is the fault of the state structure. From this faulty structure develops a capricious state administration which neither the state nor the citizens can really follow, and neither can they adapt their conduct to it. That is why wrong modernization decisions were able to come about, built on wrong economic political ideas, even in the last decade and a half. We are carrying the consequences of these decisions, and we are caught in the traps which came about as a result of this.

For this very reason I am of the view that without taking cognizance of the above-mentioned fact and the circumstance that there is in fact a law of values in economic relations, that the exchange value is realized on the market in the form of goods, or that producers are linked to each other on the market and they are not brought together by some kind of bureaucratic coordination, the world's reality is such that without taking this into account one cannot manage the economy.

And without the reform of property relations the social economic bases of democracy are absent. The autonomous citizen, capable of autonomy, who is needed in order for the above-mentioned state organization institutions to be able to function, cannot exist. A citizen integrated into a hierarchy, without the hope of liberation, who depends existentially only on above, cannot be a subject of democracy. In a socialist economy mixed ownership must become a central organizing form of property relations, freely organizing community property, from which follows, together with the multifaceted nature of property relations, a freer movement of capital and a possibility for accumulation enterprise. And at the two extreme ends of these property relations stand private ownership and state ownership, but both of them at the extreme end, starting out from the consideration that it is the ruling socialist community relations which designate the places of all the rest.

Only with such property organization and constitutional asset guarantees can a system be created where the participants are real owners, interested not first and foremost in the distribution but in the increase of wealth. At present virtually all our relations—precisely because property has no real subject, and this role has been taken over by the state and politics—force owners to distribute as soon as possible, as fast as possible, from one day to the next.

The new kind of property development and organization not only makes possible but it demands a civilian society and political openness in which not only the law but property, too, gives a guarantee for minority thinking, for alternatives which remain in the minority, also to have a right of existence, and in this way oblige the representatives of the alternative that came to power to struggle for their majority truth openly, with social supervision. In this event the relationship of the majority and the minority is not a moral issue, and is decided not in the theater of morals, but in the light of factual truths.

As you can see, therefore, behind the intention to bring into being the constitutional state there are real necessities and significant political movements, among them the party, with its efforts at renewal.

And constitutional statehood has further political consequences. The political relations are taking on many-layered—as they say, pluralistic—forms; they open up the way before the most various organizations. The first signs of this can already be seen and they fill one part of society with confidence, another part with alarm. Behind the confusion and anxiety, alarming historical memories make themselves felt. However, confusion is caused mainly by the fact that helplessness and the numbing, fragile equilibrium have gone on for excessively long. In the meantime, the crisis continued to deepen, because the bargaining that went on when publicity was suppressed favored more the irregular intrigues than the crisis-solving initiatives of penetrative force. The party conference debate bore witness to this as well.

In the absence of openness, it was not possible for statesmen capable of great commitments to emerge, for this structure favors official politicians [hivatal- nokpolitikusok], willing to adapt, who are guided rather by the fear of decisions that would have bad consequences for them, than by the intention and the responsibility necessary for solving the nation's problems. [applause]

The government bears a very, very great responsibility as regards what it does concerning the organizations and movements which have begun lately, and which are proliferating freely. As Comrade Grosz indicated just now, whether they will lead to the disorganization of society, anarchy, or to a modern country, characterized by a constitutional state, which is strengthened in its character as a civil society, which pursues politics openly, and which is catching up with development, will now become clear.

The solution lies not in forms and organizational recipes from above; present-day Hungarian society has gone beyond this. What has to be suggested is partnership and compromise in the exercise of power. Compromise assumes the ability to make decisions, as well as firmness on all sides, rather than a conciliatory attitude. Mutual results are achieved not from loud words, but on the basis of a compromise between sincere partners who are firm in their own beliefs.

Who can help the political sphere in orientating itself? It can be done by creditable politicians who, even in this misty and opaque political openness, have visibly fought for their own beliefs, and such incontestably sovereign personalities of the country who have created outstanding things, who, standing on the basis of those institutions which have proved themselves to be stable—the nation, state, party, culture, science, and church—are capable of pointing the way to the citizens and to the legislators.

Proof must be given that what is being prepared are a genuine constitutional state and genuine pluralism. It must be demonstrated that what is involved is not a game by a power incapable of making decisions and major resolutions, one which permits free reign to passions, permits institutes to be disordered, so that it can resort to the means most in line with its abilities, that is—the use of force.

The political interest connected to stablization and the strengthening of public trust equally required that the people become aware that the government did not initiate the transformation of the political institutions system and the related work of preparing legislation on the basis of tactical considerations so as to channel off the crisis. The government understands that matters cannot go on in the old way, and it also knows that force, whichever side might initiate it, would throw the country back to the deepest point of the crisis, and would exclude it from the circle of european countries and from the civlized world.

This is something about which the people and the movements which act in the name of the people, must also be aware. Everyone has a place in the state of compromise which prepares the new Hungarian statehood except those who speculate on taking advantage from a crisis, who, whichever side they are on, in their obsession with power, endanger stability and the renewal leading to national unity.

If we are to succeed in reaching agreement on a wide sphere on these questions, then it is not a Council of National Salvation that will be needed in Hungary but perhaps we will need a Council of National Consensus.

Those who wish to participate in the implementation of the tasks as well, must sooner or later find a place in the government. Those who wish to remain on the basis of constitutionally based criticism must be given scope to speak in the legislature and in local self-government.

The government's plan for the creation of political democracy and the constitutional state can also be the foundation of stability and order, because this plan does not base the future of the country from an intellectual point of view on the shaky structure of an infallible and omnipotent single center, but on the principle of democratic socialism, the citizens' freedom, and their ability to initiate and to govern themselves. It is to this state that the new constitution and the laws whose creation has been initiated by the party and the government can lead.

In the present stage of the processes and events, state power and the citizen equally bear a very great responsibility. The traditional and tested political institutions and the newly created and arising institutions alike bear the responsibility to cast aside their intentions to justify themselves and their selfish desire to be in the public eye, and to help give form to the endeavors and passions of the people. They should help to shape the mass of the politically nameless, who have lost political culture, into a people with an articulated structure. These people, however, should think with a shared consciousness and responsibility of citizenship.

They should help develop the polical will of the people in which the desire for unity is strong. This task must be carried in such times when both the people and the government must face the same legacy, the crisis of the socialist model applied until now. However, the crisis may be the beginning of national rebirth, renewal, if we find the human value for action with a joint will. The people know very well that the solution does not come without sacrifice. It knows that it must pay for those serious mistakes, faults which had been committed by others. However, it pays the price of mistakes only to those whom it trusts. The crisis here will last not until we find the suitable means for a solution but until this people finds the signs which give rise to trust in the government's work.

Therefore, this government must again plea for confidence, for such a confidence that is given under the most difficult terms. It is the trust of the nation for which it must ask and if it deserves trust then the people will ask for the interst only in the form of successful public service. The people will understand the tightenings which are awaiting it if the people themselves can give the mandate to those who will then apply those enforced tightenings to it. Since we are now talking about the legal foundation of democratic socialism we envision such a society in which everyone regards the law his own creation, in which the prestige of the government is given by necessity and suitability instead of external suggestions.

It is the historical task of the present National Assembly to bring a resolution for the adoption of the administration's plan and to create one by one those laws which feature in this plan. On behalf of the Council of Ministers I ask the esteemed National Assembly to support and adopt the legislative tasks, and plans of the administration aimed at reforming the political institutional system. The will of the legislators expressed with dignity gives the government an honorable task. If the people support our intention we will have the necessary strength and resolution to carry out our will, then posterity will look back on us as state founders. For if we do our job, the outcome cannot be in doubt: a nation risen in morality, a Hungary becoming richer as a result of talent and achievement, and a magyardom of good feeling. Thank you. [applause]

Delivers Closing Speech

LD2411184388 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1410 GMT 24 Nov 88

["Closing" speech by Minister of State Imre Pozsgay at the National Assembly session in Budapest—live]

[Text] Esteemed National Assembly: I would first like to say thanks for the supportive expressions of the speakers, for the proposals voiced in the debate, and the resolution, at least by the speakers, that they intend to approve the government briefing. It has become clear from the debate that we agree on some fundamental questions, precisely those which concern the most fundamental issues. I would like to mention among these the agreement to the fact that without a comprehensive reform of the system of political institutions, the renewal of society has no guarantees and there is no possibility for the country to reach the stage of resurgence. This kind of agreement and joint thinking on this issue determines our approach to all the other matters and therefore I singled out this first.

It was important to me to note that not one single speaker in the debate rejected the basic idea of the government plan, and that in this elaboration, which has several times been dubbed a so-called democracy package deal, the government undertakes to move onto the road of constitutional statehood, and that it organizes

the legislative and law-preparation part on the basis of the applicable requirements of the legal regulations. There is agreement on the need for political reform, and in the political reform, the renewal of the state, the clarification of the relationship between the state and citizen are conceived both by the government and the participation of the debate in the framework of a constitutional state.

This constitutional statehood, in its way, also calls forth—according to its own logic—political consequences. This has been palpably and very convincingly characterized and illustrated by the participants in the debate. Among these—and we cannot be surprised by, and this is not in conflict with the intention of the government—the most immediately direct political consequence is the appearance of political pluralism. Here I ask my fellow deputies for a kind of of cooperation in terms of interpretation.

It was not a slip of the tongue on my part to speak about the appearance of political pluralism. It has not evolved in accordance with government plans or as a result of some kind of government program: It is the consequence of the law of logic of real social movement; otherwise we accept a constitutional statehood behavior and we live by the appropriate norms. It is clear to all of us that the real processes are pluralistic under the very complicatedly structured—we have never had any doubts that as a result, our thinking, too, is of a pluralist kind, thought preparing for conflict, and tension-creating where there is creation. [sentence as heard] The political institutional form with which we want to part has had precisely this basic mistake, among others. It wanted to save this tension, to purge it from human relations, to still the ability to bear conflicts, and thus the motor force has not transpired—the force needed precisely for the unfolding, for social movement.

I heard with joy the speakers' references to this same experience and their taking this experience as their point of departure when making their proposals.

We should not pussyfoot around this either; our fellow deputies, who without going on about it, put forward the issue of multiparty system. The government's keynote speech had no business, and had no duty—since it (?was) (dealing with) a legislative plan—but from a political point of view we are talking about an issue which is impossible to overlook. Naturally, I will have to react to the concrete proposals, too. However, even regarding this, my view is the same as which I said earlier on pluralism. Thus, if in the wake of the law of association [to be approved] in December the conditions for a multiparty initiative—in which respect of the constitution, party formulation in accordance with the requiremens of legal cooperation—exist, then in such a situation it will be the society which has created these conditions and not the government. The government will not set about stopping the multiparty system in Hungary as a goal for itself. It is not compatible [adekvat] with the situation and position of the government, naturally. The essence here is the respect of the law and legality in this case and the organization of the parties is a question of political struggle, and it is decided on the political battlefield where, by the way, its legal preconditions exist.

Well, now, I can and do have an opinion, naturally, and the members of the government have one too, naturally. I think that here a politician was described; it may have been me, possibly others, several have already spoken in this vein in this country already, thank god, [sentence as heard] I profess that socialism—thinking precisely about the model debates consequences which were just mentioned before—does not necessarily go hand in hand with a one-party system. It is an enforced form of expression of the East European initiative which, in backward states, wanted to create a community of will organized on the basis of state property to to carry out, to create an accumulation. I do not wish to return to these historical proceedings but only to signal [that] the idea of organizing a party in such a way has never existed in scientific socialism or in the mind of those implementing it in practice, those who initiated it. [as heard] From this point of view the statement that it has been brought about by this region's history is justified. It has no cause of principle, and we have no need to [upholding] a steadfastness of principle in this respect.

There is one responsibility with which we must work together with the alternatives, political initiators, and everybody; that it belongs also to this political history and fact—which I referred to in the news conference yesterday also—that a political practice of 40 years cannot be changed at one stroke, while maintaining the stability of the country and its attained integration. This is why I proposed the path of conciliation and not the path of introduction. But, I repeat, we must obviously react to these in legislation.

I would like to thank separately, also on behalf of the legal Committee, the thoughts outlined and formulated by Comrade Antalffy. Those thoughts that are established in legal science and also established historically, which he attached to the tasks of the legislature and the concept, thought of the constitutional state.

I agree with him and with that declaration, that there is no need to repeat answers which have been historically superceded. I agree completely. This refers not just to legislature, it refers in general also to the question to which I would like to return here: Is there mention in the government plan of socialism? It is good that they drew our attention to this. They drew my attention to this too, but they also gave a good opportunity for me to declare: Naturally, this program plan that has been presented to the parliament here on behalf of the government is in itself socialist.

I would like to say at this forum that if there is mention of the experiences of the functioning of capitalism, those who are sitting in the Hungarian parliament, and those who participate in the Hungarian alternative movements and various Hungarian social initiatives, one thing—there are a few of us sitting here still, a good number of us, thank goodness, of the generation who know this from experience—one thing must be known. The capitalism which existed in this country, the capitalism that there was in this country, which compelled millions to live a subnational existence, such capitalism is not wanted here by anyone. Anyone who feels nostalgia for it is under some grave, catastrophic historical misconception.

One thing must be added to this: This capitalism was in no way better as capitalism than that socialism which we made as socialism. This also belongs to this experience, for there is also a question concerning mutual relations. Something must be superseded here; this is the question, and I think that every colleague deputy of mine who has spoken has cooperated with the government plans with this intention.

Regarding the concrete proposals, I fully agree with my colleague, deputy Antalffy. I add that which is really instructive—and he, too, drew attention to this—in connection with constitutional statehood: That there is a kind of European political culture which points beyond, passes through generations and political systems, which we can either carry ourselves or not. In a certain sense—perhaps I can dare utter this expression too—socialism would be the most suitable grounds for asserting these rights and freedoms, with a view to the fact that the movement itself commenced in this spirit. That it has diverged from this is precisely what we are talking about.

Moving on to the proposals. I speak also about the choice of path to which Csaba Kereszti referred, and the order of reconstructing, reducing. It was a recurring thought and proposal to accelerate the preparation of the new constitution. I consider this to be a justified and realistic demand. Here, I join those who were of the opinion that the obstacle to it lies not so much in legal science, but that the reason for the delay is concealed in the political relations. The political resolve with which the May Party conference initiated political reform, and the support which is manifested here, in the parliament, permits the government to bring forward the work connected with the constitution. Making use of the codification, the legal science researches in the acceleration of this work, a great role will be played by the constitutional preparatory committee—excuse me for not giving the correct title—which parliament dispatched for this aim. I propose that this committee examine separately this initiative, as was voiced in the contributions made here today.

It is necessary to accelerate the preparation of the constitution, and I acknowledge that this demand is justified and timely.

Concerning the contribution of Karoly Mezei, he proposed that a code of human rights be prepared, and included in the Constitution in the appropriate manner, so as to protect individual and human rights. The preparation of such a code on human rights belongs partly to the constitution and those preparing the constitution, but at the same time also to the government. Naturally, I cannot give a professional lawyer's reply to this. The government, at its next session, when returning to the proposals voiced at the National Assembly, will examine the proposal regarding this code of human rights, and will brief the National Assembly on the possibilities for its realization.

I have already discussed the question, the problem, of a multiparty system. I would like to put forward the following concerning the recommendation. The present legislative initiative is directed at the law of association. The government is planning to submit it soon to the National Assembly. An extraordinary twist has occured, as the speakers have already mentioned. Contrary to the original political intention and plan, the public and social debate decided on the variant according to which it is not a law of associations, but a law of association, that the National Assembly has to decide on. In other words, the government will submit a law of association to the National Assembly.

From this it also followed—once again in the wake of the social debate—that the law of association to be put to the National Assembly should include the measure relating to parties as well, taking into consideration the circumstance, which arose in the wake of the debate, that the government cannot now create a measure which goes into rules and details.

Constitutional lawyers and political scientists will examine the relationship between the law of association, the Constitution and the laws relating to parties. However, I cannot state responsibly to the National Assembly that the government is ready to submit a concrete law to the National Assembly on such an important political issue, without first gathering information and researching it, as soon as December. However, it cannot evade this task; thus, it must provide information to the deputies in the National Assembly on how it wants to fulfil this requirement.

I repeat therefore: The government is asking for scope not to evade this issue but for the possiblity to evaluate political issues such as this one, which often have the character of a political change of course.

In connection with the other plan and proposal put forward by my fellow deputy Zoltan Kiraly, since it depends, not to a inconsiderable extent, on my personal decision for this recommendation to be decided on at today's session of the National Assembly, I would like to express my readiness—which I also noted in my speech—to participate in all cooperation built on dialogue which respects partnership, with a will to reach a

compromise in order to avoid catastrophe. This is in our common interest, at least for those who are not speculating on a crisis but who want a resurgence in the country. Thus, I express my readiness to take part in this work.

We were acquainted with important experiences by my fellow deputy, Sandor Csipko. On these topics I would like to refer to only one on this occasion, namely the question of the deputies' work and responsibilities. I think that the National Assembly which was elected in 1985, following the 1983 electoral law, has achieved very considerable progress compared with the practice of earlier National Assemblies.

It is this which has caused our confusion, to which Sandor Csipko and others have also referred. As soon as being a deputy involves substance, and as soon as the decisions adopted here have substance, the conditions in which an earlier organization functioned are no longer appropriate for cooperation. This is what became clear on one or two occasions. Because of this I would not go as far as to question the dignity of the National Assembly. I have seen greater parliamentary upsets in various parts of the world and such things happen everywhere in the world. This is unusual for us; these events often embarass us, but it is this contradiction that is involved and it is this contradiction which will set the new agenda, according to the requirements of the legislative cycle.

I am in full agreement with him that as long as there is scope for dialogue, the government should see everyone who has a proposal to improve the situation of the country as an ally. Finally, I accept his observations regarding the cooperation between the government and the deputies. After all, what is involved is really that because of a lack of information, a lack of the necessary conditions of work for the deputies, various views which might be strongly held cannot receive expression. I think we will have to return to this question and take measures on this in the work on the Constitution and on the next parliamentary cycle as soon as possible. The government will not wait for this age of cooperation; rather, it now endeavors to go forward to meet this requirement.

Let me not deal with the People's Front experiences in the speech by Mrs Soltesz, nee Ilona Kadar. Let me just say that the question is indeed whether we shall be able to give constitutional substance to pluralism. The government's plan is that this should be realized.

Esteemed fellow deputies, esteemed National Assembly! I would like to put forward the following proposal for a resolution. For the first time ever in this genre, let the National Assembly, appreciating and weighing our willingness and intention to learn as well, approve as information the plan which I was able to submit to the National Assembly regarding the legislative work connected with the reform of the system of political institutions. If the National Assembly approves this report, every point which the government has put forward here will be obligatory. I recommend that we should include in this resolution that the government should speed up the activity connected with the preparation of the Constitution and should begin discussions on this with the commission delegated by parliament for this purpose, and should then report to parliament on this work.

In connection with the law on parties and the proposal concerning the list and code of human rights, the government should be obliged by the National Assembly to report to it on the preparatory work.

I ask for your forgiveness for taking up your time and patience perhaps longer than customary with this closing speech and reply to the debate. However, what is involved here is what several of my fellow deputies have mentioned in their speech, namely, the question of trust. It is my opinion, too, that without trust in the government there is no scope for resurgence and, naturally, it is the government which must work to gain this trust. Because it is in the nature of trust that it is he from whom trust is withdrawn that experiences this as a crisis; those who withdraw their trust do not experience a crisis of trust, they merely act in a categorical manner. For them, this is not a crisis; it is a crisis for those from whom the trust is withdrawn.

I think that this government can make a start on the solution of these tasks with good promise, and, according to the experiences of this debate, with optimism, that is, in the hope of trust. On my own behalf I also ask for this trust with the approval of this plan. Thank you very much.

MSZMP Session Communique Issued

LD2311191488 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1830 GMT 23 Nov 88

[Text] A communique has been issued on yesterday's Central Committee session, from which we now quote a few thoughts. The communique will appear in full in the papers.

The Central Committee considers the expulsion of the commercial counsellor at the Hungarian Embassy in Bucharest, the accusations brought against him, and the Romanian authorities' procedures to be a provocation. The incident is grave, says the communique, and the Hungarian party believes the behavior of the Romanian authorities to be unacceptable.

Making known the resolution in connection with the work order of the Central Committee, the communique informs that in the future the leading body of the party will give instructions exclusively to party organizations and will respect the independence of the National Assembly and the government.

The Central Committee will have six departments instead of the current eight. In the future, however, these will not be able to direct the lower party organs, either. They are only competent to serve the work of the national leading body.

The Central Committee has proposed working out a referendum law under which at the proposal of a determined number of citizens, the National Assembly will be compelled to declare a referendum.

In the matter of the draft law connected with the right of assembly and association, the Central Committee has accepted the lesson of the national debate that the future law must more decisively guarantee the right of assembly and organzation of citizens.

Furthermore, the leading body of the party proposed that a nationality law be worked out that would give a guarantee against every kind of negative discrimination.

Finally, the communique states that the membership fees will be reduced and that the party's economic measures will offset these revenues.

Student Unrest Reported in Budapest
LD2311132988 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 23 Nov 88

[Text] [Announcer] Following the September initiative of the Szeged Science University, a national demonstration is being held in some institutions of higher education. Mihaly Mueller visited universities in Budapest this morning.

[Mueller] On a white sheet measuring 5 meters by 2 meters, are the words: Money, Academic Freedom, Democracy. These are in red letters and can be seen at the entrance to the Natural Sciences faculty of Budapest's ELTE [Eotvos Lorand University], on Museum Boulevard. Within the gates there is a strike. Together with the university's leaders, the students and teachers are discussing how to overcome the general, and increasingly-deepening, crisis of education.

The situation is similar at the Faculty of Liberal Arts. Here, the irony of bitterness resulted in the writing on the wall: Even less money, dictatorship, dependants. Another poster shows an empty mess-tin and the caption: We do not need any more cibere soup [play on name of Minister of Culture and Education Tibor Czibere] The mood here at the Liberal Arts faculty is the most passionate, there is as much coming-and-going as if there were normal teaching.

The Technical University is demanding European conditions for education of a European standard, decent wages for teachers, decent grants for students, interest-representation, and autonomy. Here, I was handed an appeal which demands the creation of a national interest-representation forum in higher education, since so far the Ministry of Culture and Education has been unable to ensure enough money for higher education. This appeal has been signed by everyone ranging from the MDF [Hungarian Democratic Forum] to the FIDESZ [Federation of Young Democrats] to the MSZMP university committee.

The demands at the economics and horticultural universities, and at the Law Faculty, where I went this morning, are similar, only, of course, in accordance with the universities' particularities. At every university, work is underway on a standpoint which is intended to be sent as a cry for assistance to Parliament and the government.

[Announcer] There is a demonstration taking place in Pecs, at the Teacher Training College of Janus Pannonius University. Csaba Belenesi reports from the scene:

[Belenesi] The dean's permit constituted the legal framework for the action. The head of the Teacher's Training College has proclaimed today and tomorrow as workdays without teaching. All this happened after the faculty's 900 students and 30 teachers indicated, with their signatures, that in the interest of a radical reform of higher education, they support the initiative of the Szeged liberal arts students. However, students at the law and economics faculties of Pecs University of Sciences did not join the action, and so far at least they have not indicated any similar action, nor have students at Pecs's other institutions of higher education.

Compared to the large number of signatories, about 200-300 students gathered this morning in the Teacher's Training College cinema where university rector Maria Ormos gave a talk. She outlined, in an historical context, the past and present of Hungarian higher education. She said that in 1949-50, the Stalinist model predominated in this sphere, too. Higher education institutions were transformed into uniform factories of experts by completely eliminating university autonomy and by separating teaching and scientific research. One element of this was the conformist nature of ideology, making the teaching of the Russian language obligatory. In connection with the alarming material situation, she said that if a rich source of money were to open up, there would be a fear that millions would be wasted, like in the sixties, because of the old, false habits, and the outdated structure. The rector also criticized the work of the Ministry of Culture and Education which, in her opinion, is weak and unable to make a decision—and not primarily for personnel reasons but for structural ones.

The demands of the 2-day program at the faculty agree with those of Szeged: More money from the budget, autonomy, and academic freedom.

[Announcer] Istvan Balint reports on the rally held at Debrecen's Lajos Kossuth University:

[Balint] An all-day demonstration began at 0900 today at Debrecen's Lajos Kossuth University. The demonstration began with a briefing rally. The students and teachers who marched into the courtyard were met by the slogans: Cafeterias instead of feeding-troughs; grants instead of starvation wages; the time is the twelfth hour. These words could be read on the posters placed on the walls.

The rally was told that the goal of the demonstration is to express the university's demands, to call the attention of the Culture Ministry and the National Assembly to reviewing the grave situation of higher education. Although the standpoint will only be outlined at the evening rally, it was already being said this morning that the students demand an improvement of material conditions, university autonomy, and academic freedom.

After the rally, a discussion began in the crowded assembly hall where the university's leaders replied to students' questions. At this time, some people began an all-day read-in and sit-in in the courtyard. The rector of Kossuth University, by the way, proclaimed today as a teaching-break.

[Announcer] Our next location is Gyor, from where Sandor Forgacs reports:

[Forgacs] Students at the Gyor teacher training college did not go to lectures this morning. The director informed them about the situation of higher education, including their own institution, and about the narrow development plans for teacher training. This is the kind of quiet solidarity with the demands of their fellow students in Szeged.

Students at the Szombathely Teacher Training College postponed their protest action, announced for today, to tomorrow. They have worked out a concrete program for tomorrow. In the morning, they will hold a quiet gathering because of the failure to develop the library; then they will debate the backwardness of teaching future teachers, and of education's development.

Teaching at the Gyor Technical College and at the Mosonmagyarovar Agricultural Sciences University is continuing according to schedule today.

Romanian Diplomat Declared Persona Non Grata

LD2411162088 Budapest MTI in English 1451 GMT 24 Nov 88

[Text] Budapest, November 24 (MTI)—On November 24, the Foreign Ministry of the Hungarian People's Republic filed a note of protest via the Budapest Embassy of the Socialist Republic of Romania to the Romanian Government over the expulsion of Commercial Counsellor Karoly Gyorffy.

The note states that, as a response, Pavel Platona, Mr Gyorffy's counterpart at the Romanian Embassy in Budapest, has been declared persona non grata, and has been given 72 hours to leave the country.

Romania Responds to Counterexpulsion

LD2411214688 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 24 Nov 88

[Text] Romania has already responded to the Hungarian diplomatic moves; the Romanian Foreign Ministry has protested the Hungarian authorities' arbitrary decision. This Romanian decision is not justified. Even in Romania they [as heard] are of the view that it is irreconcilable with international practice and the norms of interstate relations.

Romanian Incident Draws Reactions, Protests

Diplomat Gyorffy Speaks

LD2411200188 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 24 Nov 88

[Text] [Announcer] The news conference which was held in the Foreign Ministry at 1500 hours today was an event awaited with great interest. As is known, Karoly Gyorffy, commercial counsellor, after his expulsion by the Romanian authorities, arrived in Hungary by a circuitous route. The explanation for this was that he should have to take as short a journey as possible on Romanian territory, for fear of eventual further provocation. Understandably, the diplomat was deluged with many questionS at today's press briefing, about which Tamas Forro reports.

[Begin recording] [Forro] The most important statement at the press briefing was that the Hungarian PR's Foreign Ministry has today protested in a memorandum (mn: "jegyzek"), through the Romanian Embassy in Budapest, to the Romanian Government, over the expulsion of Karoly Gyorffy, commercial counsellor. In response, it has declared persona non grata the counsellor of the Romanian Embassy in Budapest, Pavel Platona, who has to leave Hungary within 72 hours. Karoly Gyorffy has left Romania already. He has arrived home unharmed, together with his family.

How does it feel to be expelled?

[Gyorffy] Well, it is a very bad feeling, mainly because I feel that I have given no cause for this.

[Forro] On the way home were you followed on the Romanian territory? Did some insult occur? Did your crossing of the Romanain frontier go smoothly?

[Gyorffy] The crossing went smoothly, without a hitch. As for being followed, I was followed by the cars of the mission, my colleagues, a few of my colleagues who were able to come, they accompanied me as far as the border.

[Forro] You had been accused of car theft, of failing to stop after an accident, finally of distributing leaflets, thus of incitement. But it is evident that it would be wrong to assume that all this was directed at you personally. But why did the Romanians pick you precisely for this?

[Gyorffy] I cannot explain it. It is incomprehensible for me as well. I have done a great deal for expanding Hungarian-Romanian relations, for commercial relations, in particular. I do not know why I was the target.

[Forro] Is the report true that earlier on they had broken into your Bucharest apartment.

[Gyorffy] Yes, that is true. But break-ins happened elsewhere, too.

[Forro] Do you see no connection between the two things?

[Gyorffy] I do not want to see a connection.

[Forro] How did this break-in happen? What did they take? Something connected with politics, with diplomacy, or valuable objects?

[Gyorffy] They took objects of value, rather, jewelry, money, videocassettes, video tapes, and tapes as well.

[Forro] As far as I know break-ins had happened at (the homes of) other embassy workers as well.

[Gyorffy] Indeed, they did break in at (the home of) another colleague as well, during the summer.

[Forro] Who was sitting in your car? Because so far the name, the person, of this individual has not been made public in Hungary?

[Gyorffy] She is (Erzsebet Janosi) a domestic employee allotted by the Diplomatic Service Enterprise. She is of Hungarian nationality; she is a Romanian citizen. Her name is (Erzsebet Janosi).

[Forro) What do you know about her?

[Gyorfi Nothing. Since then I have received no information of any kind. As far as I know her family knows nothing about her, either.

[Forro] Can anything be done in her interest? Is any investigation being carried out as to what has happened, what is happening, to her?

[Gyorffy] This is really a Romanian internal affair now. What we have done now is that we have made her name public, because so far this had not been done. Either.

[Forro] You have said that what happened was a provocation. Was it with a premeditated intention or was it a quick Romanian countermeasure to something?

[Gyorffy] It is only possible to prophesy what it might be. It appears it was some kind of scenario which was planned and prepared. It is certain that things happened according to that, and not thusly, in part, because I was not willing to cooperate with the police in the manner which they had thought.

[Forro] You now are in a very difficult situation, since your Hungarian colleagues have remained in Bucharest. They must continue to work in the colony, and whether it is wanted or not, the Hungarian-Romanian relationship, which otherwise is full of tension, is being burdened further.

[Gyorffy] Yes, that really is so. That is also why I should like for the mass media, apart from the strict facts, not to deal in any other manner with the affair, because we are making work difficult for my colleagues out there.

[Forro] You said at the news conference that there are certain Romanian circles which practically want to break off every kind of relationship with Hungary.

[Gyorffy] Look, that is a supposition, but I feel that it is thorough, because to date, no kind of atrocity had befallen the sphere of commercial relations. This is the first one. Perhaps not even this pleases them.

[Forro] In your judgment, is what happened a warning, or more than that?

[Gyorffy] I believe it can be taken as a warning, as an arousing of fear. Certainly a warning; (?it aroused) fear. [end recording]

Foreign Ministry Queried

LD2311122788 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 23 Nov 88

[Interview with Foreign Ministry Spokesman Istvan Komoroczky by correspondent Jozsef Laszlo 23 November in Budapest—recorded]

[Text] [Laszlo] The Hungarian government is not aware that the speed of village destruction in Romania has slowed, Foreign Ministry Spokesman Istvan Komoroczky said at his news conference this morning. The FINANCIAL TIMES correspondent referred to a report on FRG television last week which reported indications that fewer villages were being eliminated. According to Istvan Komoroczky, we have no official Romanian plans in our possession regarding the village destruction scheme; we gain our information from the Romanian press and Romanian statements.

However, according to our information, the program is proceeding in accordance with President Ceausescu's orders.

After the news conference, I asked Komoroczky a few questions:

In Hungarian-Romanian relations the latest and very serious disturbing factor is the provocation that took place last week, the expulsion of the Hungarian commercial counsellor. By what route is Counsellor Gyorffy returning home?

[Komoroczky] Counsellor Gyorffy has gone from Bucharest to Sofia and from there traveled home through Belgrade.

[Laszlo] Why was this necessary? Why did he have to go via Sofia?

[Komoroczky] To the best of my knowledge this is because this route, although not the shortest between the two countries, appeared the most reassuring and safest for Gyorffy. After this very upsetting, provocative affair, the family was right to be worried that he might be victim of further provocations or that they might become subject to some sort of harrassment. That is why they decided to come via a longer route.

[Laszlo] In such cases general diplomatic practice is that the other country also expels a diplomat. Can we expect this sort of step? How should we interpret the statement that the Hungarian Government is likely to take some sort of asymmetrical measure?

[Komoroczky] My interpretation of an asymmetrical step is that, as I mentioned, after the expulsion of the Kolozsvar Consulate staff we did not respond with any countermeasures. We merely expressed our official protest. This current affair, where one of the most important members of our Bucharest Embassy was expelled, is not something that we can ignore. The government will decide at its session this afternoon what our reply should be. I am convinced that the reply will be very firm and unequivocal. What this means in precise terms is not something I can state this morning.

[Laszlo] Let us talk about more pleasant topics. Foreign Minister Varkonyi is to travel to China soon. According to the information provided, a Hungarian Consulate will be opened in Shanghai and the need for visas between the two countries will be abolished. What is the significance of this? Can hungary now afford to open a consulate in Shanghai?

[Komoroczky] The full abolition of the need for visas has, primarily political significance. Because of the great geographical distance between the two countries we do not anticipate great tourist traffic in the future. But our technical specialists, who have been travelling on passports valid throughout the world since the introduction of the new passport law, will face even fewer administrative obstacles and traveling to the PRC.

The Hungarian Economic Chamber has had a branch in Shanghai for some years. It carried out such very successful work making contacts and developing economic links that we will open the Hungarian Consulate there. This is something the two governments have agreed on.

CSSR Press Updates Story

LD2311141688 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 23 Nov 88

[Correspondent Evelin Forro report from Prague]

[Text] RUDE PRAVO has added a supplement to its Monday report that a Hungarian diplomat was expelled from Romania. At that time, the report from Bucharest carried only the Romanian opinion. Now, referring to Monday's issue of NEPSZABADSAG, it briefly outlines Karoly Grosz' statement.

The Bratislava UJ SZO [a Hungarian-language paper] carries under the title: Romanian-Hungarian Diplomatic Incident, the reaction of the Budapest Foreign Ministry, also quoting the part in which it emerges that the Romanian side did not show a readiness to settle the problem and did not insure the conditions necessary for Hungarian diplomats' normal work.

Atomic Energy Official Denies Accident Rumors
LD2311193688 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 23 Nov 88

[Text] [Announcer] Many of you have been calling our editorial team, asking whether there really was a breakdown [awaria] of a nuclear reactor today. There is talk of a breakdown in Swierk, and even in Czechoslovakia and the GDR. We have in the studio Docent Mieczyslaw Sowinski, Chairman of the State Atomic Energy Agency. Sir, 3 hours ago, we received a PAP communique that stated that no increase in the level of radioactive contamination has been noted anywhere in the country, but it does not say straight out whether or not any kind of accident took place. What, then, is the truth?

[Sowinski] Well, in accord with that communique, the fact that there is no increase in radioactivity undoubtedly proves unambiguously that no radiation accident or nuclear breakdown has taken place, (?as a result?) of which a wave or cloud of radioactive dust or other substances could have arrived in our country.

[Announcer] And tests abroad, have they... on our measurements. As you remember, about 140 stations take readings systematically. They are based in various places in Poland and none of them has noted or has given a signal to Warsaw, to the central laboratory (?for radiological protection), of an increase in radioactivity. Also, to make sure, I was in contact with the IAEA an hour before coming to the studio. The IAEA carries out systematic... it has systematic contacts with all centers throughout the world....

[Annoucer] In Vienna?

[Sowinski] In Vienna, under the convention on (?warnings) of nuclear breakdowns. I also obtained the information that, as of 1730 hours today, the agency had not received reports...

[Announcer, interrupting] How can you trust these measurements to be reliable?

[Sowinski] Well, sir, I (?can) go at any time to the Central Radiological Protection Laboratory and see, because those measurements are taken automatically on paper tape and magnetic tape. In fact, at any moment, (?one can view) not just what is currently being measured, but also what was noted a day, a week, or a month ago. That is one thing.

After Chernobyl, the system that had been in existence in Poland for 20 years was modernized and considerably improved on the basis of the results we obtained after Chernobyl. I would like to calm you and all the viewers. If anything had happened, we would have noticed it right away. It is a rumor, and I would like to take this opportunity to appeal to all viewers, and especially to scientists, to condemn such rumors, for they are a public danger. This is the third rumor of its kind this year. The first was in Krakow about a year ago, the second came a few months ago in Wroclaw, and now in Warsaw. This kind of rumor causes a certain insensibility; it could make people insensible to recommendations or requests in the event of a real danger situation.

[Announcer] Thank you for that explanation, and especially for the final warning. Thank you.

Government's 21 Nov Economic Decisions Listed
LD2411232288 Warsaw PAP in English 2047 GMT 24 Nov 88

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 24—As the government press office has announced, the Council of Ministers at its meeting here on November 21 adopted drafts of two legal acts which are of fundamental significance for the future shape and functioning of the national economy. They are amended laws "on taking up economic activity" and "on economic activity with the participation of foreign subjects." They will introduce real economic freedom. Below is the full text of the government's November 21 decisions in the economic sphere.

The fundamental character of the amendments to the draft law on taking up economic activity proposed by Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski's government meets halfway the postulates of vast majority of the milieux and professional groups. New solutions included in the draft law on taking up economic activity provide for the following:

- Conducting economic activity does not require any consent except for a few kinds of enterprises which are specified in the law and which require a licence,
- All firms, without exceptions, regardless of their form of ownership, pay taxes according to uniform principles. All enterprises will have access to bank credits and production means based on principles of equality,
- All sectors will have equal rights to employ workers. So far employment in private firms has been limited to 50 people per one shift as a rule,
- fundamentally limited will be functions of state organs that register economic activity. They will be empowered only to formally examine an application. They will not assess whether an economic subject—while starting economic activity—fulfils conditions defined for instance in construction, sanitary, fire-control and environment protection regulations. The observance of these regulations will be executed by appropriate bodies, for instance, fire brigade, sanitary inspection during the very course of conducting the activity. It is envisaged that registering the undertaking of economic activity should be made within 14 days after an application has been submitted,
- Economic subjects will be free to set up associations and the state is giving up control of their principles,
- The draft law will not include penal regulations. Sanctions against non-observance of the law on taking up economic activity, including limiting of one's freedom and fines, will be included in the misdemeanour code.

- Legal persons will not be obliged to submit to the register the economic activity they started, this is not necessary because enterprises, cooperatives and companies are included in the registers kept primarily by courts,
- The draft law does not contain authorizations (which were included in earlier drafts of the law) which made it possible for ministers to lay down executive regulations limiting the functioning of the law. The only exception is the minister for foreign economic relations who is granted the power to define goods and services which require licences to be traded with abroad. The Council of Ministers will be entitled to limit the range of licencing.

The draft law on economic activity with the participation of foreign partners creates favourable conditions for them to invest in Poland. The authors of the draft law have made use of postulates and suggestions made by international capital groups and foreign economic institutions. The proposed solutions are competitive towards similar laws in other socialist countries. This creates real prospects for boosting exports fast and increasing the production of goods in short supply on the market.

The draft law on economic activity with participation of foreign partners provides for the following:

- Uniform principles of activity for all enterprises taking up economic ventures with a share of foreign capital. It is also permissible to set up such companies by enterprises, cooperatives, private persons and other firms which are not socialized economy units,
- The limitation of the share of foreign partners in the company's capital is abolished. Possible will be a majority share up to 100 per cent,
- Introducion of free transfer of hard currency profit,
- A foreigner can be the manager of a company,
- A minimum of foreign capital share is suggested at 50,000 U.S. dollars,
- Income tax rate will be lowered from 50 per cent to 40 per cent with a possibility of significant reductions for exports,
- Companies will be exempt from tax for the first three years with a possibility to prolong the tax exemption for up to three years more,
- Top limit of obligatory resale of hard currency will be 15 per cent,
- Companies will have a full freedom of employment and remuneration of employees,
- The existing foreign-owned small businesses operating in Poland will have a possibility to transform into companies whose activities are governed by the proposed law.

In tune with the announcement made by Prime Minister Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski in his Sejm expose on a different place of the planning body in the structures of managing the national economy, the Council of Ministers adopted a draft law on establishing a Central Office of Planning.

The draft law provides for the following:

- Liquidation of the Government Planning Commission as a collective administrative-social body and the liquidation of the Presidium of the Planning Commission. This will simplify internal organizational structure, cut down employment and improve the quality of the planning process in the new Central Office of Planning.

- The Central Office of Planning will be a government staff body whose task will be to ensure plans' influence on economic development, its directions and proportions. The office will be relieved of the function of current administration of the economic processes and all kinds of reserves.

The office's scope of activity will provide for preparing drafts of long-term plans, national socio-economic plans, central annual plans, plans of the country's spatial organization and analyses of their implementation.

The office will organize and conduct bilateral and multilateral coordination of socio-economic plans with CMEA member states and with other socialist countries,
- the Central Office of Planning will be led by minister—head of the office. [as received] Prime Minister Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski will ask the Sejm to include the head of the office in the composition of the Council of Ministers.

Customs Rates To Be Lowered as of 1 Jan

LD1811001088 Warsaw PAP in English
2036 GMT 16 Nov 88

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 16—A new customs tariff for imported goods, generally reducing the custom rates, will come into force in Poland as of January 1, 1989 to encourage imports of highly processed goods and to facilitate renegotiating new terms of Polish access to GATT.

Poland plans to replace the long-adopted unprofitable formula of GATT membership in the form of an obligation to increase its imports by 7 percent yearly with the accepting by 120 GATT members of the Polish customs tarrif, that is a common form of access to GATT.

The new tariff is believed to help modernize Polish industry and agriculture. However, due to the shaky economy and inflation processes in Poland, the tariff will not probably influence importers' decisions so strongly as it might do in countries with stable economy.

According to Ministry for Foreign Economic Relations officials, next year is to bring a change of the customs law. One of the effects will be an application of the same customs rates for imports by socialized economy units and by individuals who, theoretically, import goods mainly to satisfy their own needs.

New Maritime Magazine To Be Published

LD1711230988 Warsaw PAP Maritime Press Service in Polish 1200 GMT 17 Nov 88

[Text] In Szczecin a new biweekly magazine, KOSCIOL NAD ODRA I BALATYKIEM, will be published. The print run will be up to 45,000 copies.

Politicians Interviewed on Reforms

AU2111130788 Vienna NEUE KRONEN-ZEITUNG in German 19 Nov 88 pp 4-5

[Kurt Seinitz report: "Poland: A Millionaire Has Become a Communist Minister"; placement of subheads as published]

[Text] Poland is a highly surreal country. The strikes this summer overthrew the communist "government of economic professors," who were weak in decisionmaking. Now firm pragmatists have taken command and have started a new wind which takes the breath of some Solidarity functionaries away.

"Enterprises With a Deficit Will Be Closed"

Mieczyslaw Wilczek, the new minister of industry, steals the show. He is a died-in-the-wool capitalist, a private entrepreneur (furs, cosmetics) with a communist party book. He is already jokingly called the first minister who could finance the state budget with his own money.

What is the new minister doing? Said Wilczek to NEUE KRONEN-ZEITUNG: "Perhaps I have done a bit too much for the first month in office; I closed four enterprises (including the Lenin shipyard)." The minister still has an whole list of 150 enterprises with a horrible deficit, which have to be either closed down or restructured. His recipe for restructuring the economy: "Paying higher wages to fewer workers. Low wages block progress." In his own ministry he is tackling the enormous administrative sector in an exemplary manner: "Half of the bureaucrats have been fired."

"Freeing the Economy From Political Ties"

In other fields, too, Polish society is told to "fasten their seatbelts." Legal changes over the next few months are to free the ailing Polish economy from its political ties, to allow completely free private enterprising "without restrictions," and to attract foreign capital through free transfer of profits. Says Minister Wilczek: "In the future we do not want foreign capital as loans but as participation in business in the country."

"First the Party Has To 'Mature'"

The driving force of the new course is Mieczyslaw Rakowski, a close associate of Jaruzelki's. Says the new head of government in an interview: "The cliche of the lost youth is no longer quite correct. We are experiencing a boom in the founding of small enterprises, in particular in the sector of electronics. These are all young people who are taking advantage of the new economic opportunities. Or look at the rural areas: Golden times are coming for the peasants."

"Following the Austrian Trade Union Model"

In a talk with NEUE KRONEN-ZEITUNG, Politburo veteran Josef Czyrek, also one of Jaruzelski's close associates in the reform, advocates a "platform of understanding" with the opposition. Czyrek admits that the breakthrough was delayed because the party first had to "mature." Now the party has changed; certain obstacles on the road toward reform—such as the heavy industry lobby—have been removed, and now the opposition, too, has to forego certain radical, "dogmatic" forces in order to facilitate "round-table" talks.

Even real trade union pluralism is not a taboo subject for Politburo member Czyrek. He prefers the "German-Austrian model" (a unified organization with different political directions under this umbrella) over the French-Italian model of trade unions comprising a single political direction.

Concerning the topical conflict about the decision to close down the Lenin shipyard, the "heart" of Solidarity, Czyrek firmly stands with the government.

"Psychological Breakthrough"

"The entire economy must be restructured quickly and radically. If the government wants to be credible in this respect, it must not start with a button factory but in those places where it initiates a 'psychological breakthrough.'"

"Television Duel With Walesa Like the Bush-Dukakis Debate"

In any case, the Polish political scene is starting to move. Jerzy Uzieblo, vice president of the (official) branch trade unions: "The people are so happy that there is finally a government that at least starts to tackle these problems."

Regime Highly Praises the Primate

Another sensation this week was caused by Alfred Miodowicz, chairman of the official trade unions. He invited Lech Walesa to a television duel. Says his deputy Uzieblo: "This will be a television sensation for the entire nation. This will be like the Bush-Dukakis debate, only more exciting."

Apropos easing of tensions: Minister of Religious Affairs Loranc also does not want to know anything any more of old conflicts and showers the primate with praise: "He has an excellent feeling for the historic moment and the

contents of social life in Poland. He leads the church in such a way that it continues to serve the fundamental interests of the Polish people."

New Austria-Hungary Not Without Galicia!

In calling so much upon raison d'etat, Jerzy Urban, government spokesman and minister, also does not want to lag behind. His image of Poland's political future: "State power and opposition should not be able to do anything without a consensus. All this, however, is to be headed by the strong office of the president, which makes the final decisions in case of obstructions and crises."

The forthcoming visit to Austria, the new premier's first trip to a capitalist country, is to solicit political and economic trust in the new course. Jokingly Minister Urban adds, referring to the stormy flirtation between Budapest and Vienna: "The reestablishment of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy would be incomplete without Poland's Galicia."

Opposition to Shipyard Liquidation Viewed

AU2311130288 Krakow TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY in Polish 20 Nov 88 pp 1, 2

[Maciej Kozlowski article: "Decision No 42"]

[Excerpts] One of the Gdansk shipyard gates bears an enormous inscription over it: "We Are Building the Maritime Might of Our People's Homeland." The inscription seems to be quite new, which means that the local propaganda unit still has not received the most recent instructions that proclaim that the Gdansk shipyard, the biggest shipyard in Poland and the second biggest industrial combine in the coastal area, not only does not produce anything useful, but for the past 6 days has even been responsible for Poland's economic misery. [passage omitted]

According to the presidium of the new trade unions, Decision No 42 to liquidate the Gdansk shipyard "was made at a time when everything indicated that the shipyard had begun to overcome its crisis and effectively realize its reorganization program." The previous difficulties were caused by "the stupid loan policy that refused to take into account the specific position of the shipyard, by the exchange rate of foreign currency, and by the nonincentive taxation system imposed from above."

Stressing that various data indicate that the world maritime economy is showing signs of revival, the trade unionists state: "The fact that decisionmakers ignore such facts, and that tendentious and even mendacious information has been spread for some time about the shipyard industry in general and about the Gdansk shipyard in particular, is a reason for us to assert that the decision on shipyards was not based on economic considerations. Our trade union has demonstrated in every possible way that it is against that decision."

The resolution unanimously adopted by the Workers Council is similar in spirit, but not so severe. The resolution asks the minister of industry to reconsider the liquidation decision and requests the Sejm to discuss the results of the liquidation.

The struggle to defend the existence of the shipyard was announced on 2 November by Manager Czeslaw Tolwinski and by all local and central Solidarity communities, led by Lech Walesa. Such general and unambiguous accord on a problem has not been recorded for many years. [passage omitted]

Decision No 42 was probably made during the night of 28-29 October. On Saturday 29 October, the shipyard manager traveled to Warsaw, where he was told of the verdict. He returned to the shipyard the same day at 1800 and told the facts to 20 of his closest aides who had waited for him. Other bodies such as the Workers Council, trade unions, shop managers, and the work force learned about the liquidation from radio or television. Moreover, it became obvious that, putting it in the mildest terms, the decision had not been considered in terms of all its necessary details. When I went to the shipyard 6 days after the decision had been made, no one had any idea of how the liquidation was going to be effected. [passage omitted]

At present, 21 vessels are in various phases of construction, but no one knows who will complete them, because the fact that labor exchanges have been set up in the shipyard can be interpreted as asking workers to look for jobs in other plants as soon as possible. Minister Jerzy Urban's statement suggested that some of the shipyard's would be taken over by the neighboring Northern shipyard, but this shipyard knows nothing of that. In a word, the center of power has gone much too far in the case of an independent and self-governing shipyard. A week ago, J. Urban said at his press conference that the Gdansk shipyard will cease to exist altogether, but a week later a PAP communique stated that it may exist "in a different organizational form" and that the work force was being canvassed for its views about the further use of production assets. [passage omitted]

Workers have decided to defend their shipyard. After all, the new situation has obliterated the acute divisions between the new trade unions and Solidarity, and between the cadre and rank-and-file workers. Lech Walesa said that he remained a shipyard worker when he was fired in the seventies and that he is still a shipyard worker. He also said that Solidarity is in favor of reforms, that its opposition to the liquidation of the shipyard does not amount to opposition to restructuring the economy, and that some enterprises will have to be liquidated, but that "decisions in this connection must be well-justified for the work forces concerned, and for

all Poland." Walesa's view is that the government's arguments and the form of the liquidation show that the decision was purely political. "They wanted to destroy a symbol, but it is impossible to destroy symbols."

I would not like to analyze the political aspects of Decision No 42, but even with regard to its purely economic aspect, the decision involves more than the shipyard itself. The fact is that it was made under the special powers granted to the Messner government by the Sejm last May. The special powers law was sharply criticized as being completely at odds with the spirit and letter of the reform because, if the reform is meant to grant independence to enterprises and to allow market mechanisms to operate, all arbitrary decisions made by clerks are therefore in glaring opposition to the reform. [passage omitted]

Actually, the unambiguous message that Decision No 42 has conveyed to managers, workers councils, and collectives is as follows: "No matter what you do or whether you try to reform your enterprise or not, the ultimate decisions will still be made by the clerks here in Warsaw." [passage omitted]

When asked why bankruptcy proceedings had not been followed if the Gdansk shipyard had proved to be unprofitable, an official from the Ministry of Industry replied that such proceedings would take too much time. Perhaps; but if decisions to liquidate enterprises and transfer their assets to other enterprises are based on ministerial considerations and not on a free play of economic forces, what is the difference between the second stage of the economic reform and the times when so-called voluntarism ruled the roost?

'Crystal Night' for Polish Jews Viewed

AU2211190188 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 19 Nov 88 p 14

[Jozef Adelson article: "Polish Jews During 'Crystal Night'"]

[Text] A great wave of emigration by people in search of jobs occurred in central Europe in the mid-19th century. Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, and Jews continued to emigrate in search of bread, and their travels took them by necessity through Germany.

Because of the lack of funds, some of these emigrants were left stranded in Germany, but some of them (especially those from the Austrian province of Galicia) knew German and could find jobs. The 1905-07 pogroms in the eastern parts of the Kingdom of Poland [created by the Congress of Vienna] triggered a new wave of emigration.

World War I and the migrations connected with it, deportations for work in Germany, battles in the Ukraine, and the war with Soviet Russia were responsible for the fact that in 1924 there were over 300,000 Jews with Polish citizenship who lived in Germany. Many of them continued to emigrate elsewhere, mostly to France, because France was occupying a part of the Rhineland and Westphalia. It was not until 1933 that the Polish Jews' emigration from Germany became much faster than the emigration of the German Jews. In October 1938 there were about 70,000 Jews with Polish citizenship in Germany.

At the beginning of the twenties Germany seemed to be an attractive land for immigrants. Liberal administrative and economic regulations made it possible for the majority of immigrants to secure a tolerable, but often illegal, existence. Immigrants engaged mostly in small trade and services, but some of them, especially those who immigrated before World War I, were well established in various branches of industry such as tobacco, leather, and textiles. The economic crisis, inflation, and the expert investment of the ever deteriorating German currency in land and houses were responsible for a relatively rapid accumulation of wealth by the immigrant elite, which included fiscal tycoons such as Benno Borzykowski, an inventor and owner of huge chemical plants, and Salomon Dyk, a pioneer of new methods of farming. Although they enjoyed good economic conditions, which were much better than those enjoyed by the ethnic Polish immigrants, the sociopolitical situation of the Jews from Poland depended on the attitudes of the authorities in power in the individual provinces of Germany. The socialists and democrats tolerated the illegal residence of Jews, but the right wing authorities in the shape of the national radical parties applied all restrictions, including deportation, against Polish Jews.

The 1923 events in Bavaria were the first visible sign of repressions applied by the national socialists against the Jews who were Polish citizens.

The repressions there were connected with the Munich coup staged by Hitler, who in the initial phase of his national socialist party conceived the plan to remove from the Reich the Jews who immigrated to it after 1914. Gustav von Kahr's government in Bavaria put that plan into operation in 1913-24 when he deported at least 1,500 Jews with Polish citizenship. It was not the deportations as such that were a calamity, but the brutal way in which they were carried out and which indicated what was going to happen much later on. Deportations of individual Polish Jews continued all the time, often without the knowledge of the Polish consulates. If the police could prove that a person's stay in Germany was illegal, such a person was immediately deported or forced to cross the border outside the official checkpoints.

Hitler's advent to power put the Polish Jews in Germany in a fatal situation, because they were Jews, immigrants from an unfriendly country, and the stereotype Semites as conceived by Nazi propaganda. It was not difficult to arouse aversion to such people because no one liked the immigrants, especially during an economic crisis, whose

culture, clothes, language, and behavior were different from the Germans and German Jews. The precarious Polish-German political situation also played a considerable role in those mutual relations. Whereas the German Jews were in a strong and assured fiscal-economic position and many of them belonged to the social elite and possessed the same legal status as the Germans, the existence of Polish Jews depended entirely on the goodwill of the German administration.

The advent of the Nazis to power created an explosion of stage-managed hatred against Jews. A wave of pogroms rolled over Germany, and deportations were intensified in the early spring of 1933. The successive waves of anti-Semitic excesses were not as dangerous as the economic and administrative measures that sought to deprive Polish Jews of their means of subsistence.

It is true that the Polish consulates did whatever they could to defend their citizens, but results were only temporary. In the face of the increasing measures to deprive the Polish Jews of jobs in Germany, their emigration continued to increase. Those who had money decided to leave the Reich, but the poorest Jews had to stay put.

The Nuremberg laws caused the Polish Jews' situation to deterioriate still further. It was probably at that time that the Consular Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs conceived the idea of adopting the law that would deprive certain categories of persons living abroad of Polish citizenship. The bill, which was directed mainly against the Jews, a fact that was stressed by Wiktor Tomir Drymmer, head of that Consular Department, at the consular conference in May 1938, was to prevent the Jews living in Germany from returning to Poland. Despite the reports sent in by the consulates that very few Jews wanted to return to Poland (most such Jews were admitted at that time into the Netherlands, the United States, Palestine, and South America), the bill in question became law on 31 March 1938. As representatives of the Federation of Polish Jews in Germany and most Polish consuls expected, that law proved to be a fatal blow to the country and to the Polish Jews in Germany and produced just the reverse of what was expected of it by the Polish Foreign Ministry. It brought Poland economic and political losses, and the press in many foreign countries called it amoral. It also stimulated anti-Polish sentiments in the Jewish community in foreign countries, which was quite natural.

Afraid that Polish Jews would be prevented from entering Poland, the Germans brutally deported from the Reich about 16,000 persons at the end of October 1938. The small border town of Zbaszyn was the main transit point for about 9,000 deported persons. The second such town on the German side of the border was Bytom [Beutchen]. The situation continued to deteriorate. Human beings deprived of money and food, very often wearing only night shirts, were loaded into railroad trucks to travel to some unknown destination. Near the border with Poland they were told to leave the trucks (often at gunpoint) and to walk in the direction of the Polish border across deserted land or through woods. The Polish border guards, who had not been told about such massive deportations, refused to admit the deportees trying to get into Poland outside the normal border checkpoints. These deportees, who were completely apathetic, exhausted, and sick had to bivouac in the open in a stretch of no man's land for several hours before the governments of the two states could agree what to do. Later on, these deportees were admitted into Zbaszyn, which was completely unprepared to take care of them. As a result of the accord signed on 24 January 1939, Poland accepted a total of 16,000 deportees and 8,000 of their dependents.

Those deportees included the Grynszpan family, which had lived in Hanover since 1914. The son of the Grynszpan couple—Herszel Grynszpan—managed to emigrate to France. Learning about the tragic fate of the deportees from the Reich, the young Grynszpan wanted to protest against Hitlerite barbarity and fired at Ernst Rath, third secretary of the German Embassy in Paris. Rath died of his wounds 2 days later.

The German Government was just waiting for such a moment, because anti-Jewish actions had been planned much earlier in order to bring about the final "purging" of Jews from the Reich. All that was needed was a spark to ignite the powder keg. Von Rath's death was just that spark. The news that he died on 9 November at 1630 was flashed to Germany at once.

Witold Adam Korsak, Polish consul in Duesseldorf described the ensuing events as follows: "As soon as the news about von Rath's death in Paris was given out, SS and SA units began to systematically demolish Jewish shops, bureaus, and apartments in all cities and towns in the Rhineland and Westphalia. Using lists drawn up in advance and regardless of the actual citizenship of the owners of shops, bureaus, and apartments, these units invaded the particular premises and began destroying them with a finality that had no precedent in Germany. Windows of all kinds were shattered, doors were wrenched out, and furniture, paintings, and books were cut to pieces. Entire contents of apartments were thrown out of the windows down into the streets below, and a number of people were beaten up and injured.

"Early in the morning the party storm troopers were joined by a crowd of mostly young people, who helped to destroy Jewish property. The police either remained in the background or saw that destroyed Jewish property was not pilfered. Although many Jewish men were severely beaten up, I did not see a single case in which police defended the wronged people. On the contrary, a secret decree was issued that prohibited the owners of hotels and boarding houses from giving shelter to the Jews expelled from their own apartments."

The attacks took place all over Germany. At first, public buildings and establishments such as synagogues, schools, hospitals, orphanages, community halls, and cemeteries were set on fire and vandalized until everything was completely ruined. Next, private property such as shops, apartments, factories, and various workshops were demolished and set on fire. People were robbed, beaten up, and subjected to violence in their own beds. Massive arrests began in the early morning of 10 November, and those arrested were taken to concentration camps. Some Polish citizens were ordered to leave the country immediately, but all their property was confiscated.

Intensive efforts made by the Polish consulates brought the repressive actions against the Polish Jews to an end. As of 11 November, attacks continued only against German Jews and stateless persons. Most of these people were deprived of any possibility of earning a living. One Polish Jew died and many suffered severe injuries. Some of the arrested Jews continued to be detained in the concentration camps. Despite every effort, their confiscated property was never returned.

Feliks Chiczewski, Polish consul in Leipzig, gave an accurate evaluation of "Kristallnacht" in his report sent to the Polish Embassy in Berlin on 12 November: "It is obvious that the entire action directed against the Jews in Saxony, Thuringia, Merseburg, and Erfurt was of a 'pogrom' type and was carried out with customary German efficiency.

"The impression of the events, during which defenseless inhabitants continued to be attacked by the organized and armed elements, is horrible.

"The worst thing is that mostly young people were used to carry out that act, and this attests to a moral decline of the German younger generation, which is capable of all kinds of deeds and violence on the orders from the party."

Despite such tragic events, the Polish consuls had to observe the duty of applying the law on the deprivation of Polish citizenship. Some consuls tried to sabotage such a sorry duty, but the Consular Department enforced the observance of its directives, claiming the exigencies of the raison d'etat. The activities connected with deprivation of citizenship ended in March 1939. Altogether, 97 percent of the Polish Jews who lived in Germany until October 1938 were deprived of Polish citizenship, that is, were outlawed. Only about 11,000 former Polish citizens were left in the Reich in 1939. Some of them managed to leave the Reich, some were taken unofficially across the border to Poland, and the rest were locked in concentration camps.

There is no doubt that the 1939 events had an extensive echo among the Jews in Poland, especially in those communities which took care of the deportees from Germany, but no one assumed that much worse events were to follow quite soon.

Barcikowski Interviewed on Agriculture's Future

AU1811200788 Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 15 Nov 88 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Politburo Member Kazimierz Barcikowski by Waldemar Gontarski: "What Is the Meaning of the Term 'Agricultural Option?'"—date and place not given]

[Text] [Gontarski] "Family farms should continue to develop and their area should be increased." This is what you said yesterday to the farmers of Lesznowola, Warsaw Voivodship. Does that mean that farms, that is, family farms, which are highly productive, which specialize in cultivation, and which possess large areas of land, will be allowed in Poland?

[Barcikowski] The term "farmer," which belongs to another language, does not fit in with the nature of Polish farming. I had in mind the need to concentrate farmland in all sectors, including the private sector of farming. Right now we need prosperous family farms. Under the present agrarian conditions when the average peasant possesses only slightly over 5 hectares of land, it is hard to promote mechanization, to improve productivity, and to achieve a parity of incomes. That is why farm policy must promote larger farms.

[Gontarski] More and more is being said about priority for the food economy and about making agriculture into the locomotive for the development of our entire economy. Is this "farm option" an infantile idea?

[Barcikowski] No country bases its development solely on agriculture, which has to develop in order to ensure that food is plentiful and that industries receive their raw materials. To be able to modernize themselves, private and socialized farms need progress in the shape of industrial production equipment. We need a harmonious development of agriculture and industries. When we give priority to agriculture, it means that we also give priority to the industries working for agriculture and to the facilities that process farm produce. Today no sector of the economy can exist, let alone modernize itself, if it is divorced from the national economy as a whole.

[Gontarski] For all those past dozens of years we have failed to do what the East has done—to collectivize rural areas—and what the West has done—to make farms family concerns [farmeryzowac). Why is this so?

[Barcikowski] There are countries in which collectivization has failed. Hungarian or GDR socialized farms achieve unsatisfactory production results. In other countries family farming has had better chances. Everything depends on the wishes of the people, especially of the rural people, because they cultivate the land. Family farming has to be preserved in Poland if only for the reason that our natural birthrate is considerable. If our industries could produced more for our farms and if they

could provide more jobs, then the number of those who possess farms would certainly decrease, and there would be an increased flow of modern production equipment to villages.

[Gontarski] What can young people expect if they decide to become farmers?

[Barcikowski] They should count on their work and imagination, should expect that they will be able to sell the products of their work for good money, and should hope that no one will interfere with them "in advance," as was the case in the past.

Rakowski Grants Interview to Austrian Paper

LD2311192388 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1756 GMT 23 Nov 88

[Text] Vienna, Nov 23 (TANJUG)—"I do not have to ask Gorbachev how far I can go in my reforms. In our policy we have the freedom to act and it is clear that Gorbachev is also eager for the success of reforms in Poland," Polish Prime Miniser Mieczyslw Rakowski has told Viennese daily DIE PRESSE.

In a detailed interview published by the paper on the occasion of the Polish prime minister's forthcoming visit to Austria, Rakowski said that the perestroyka in the Soviet Union will be stronger if the reforms in Poland are carried out, and that these successes will only also reinforce Gorbachev's position.

Speaking about the ways of carrying out the reforms in the country, Rakowski stressed that regarding the more important issues the government must strive to reach a concensus with all social forces.

Rakowski Begins 3-Day Visit to Austria

LD2411121088 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 24 Nov 88

[Text] Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski has begun his 3-day official visit to Austria. The Polish head of government was met at Vienna's Schwechat Airport by Franz Vranitsky, and by Rudolf Streicher, Austria's minister of transport and nationalized industries. Following the playing of the national anthems, Premier Rakowski received a report from the commander of the honor guard.

From the airport, Mieczyslaw Rakowski went to Chancellor Vranitsky's office for private talks.

Debt Rescheduling Agreement Signed with Japan

LD0411095888 Warsaw PAP in English 1708 GMT 3 Nov 88

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 3—An agreement on restructuring a portion of the Polish debt owed to Japan was signed today at the Ministry of Finance here.

The agreement concerns commitments totaling some 110 million dollars due in 1985. The sides agreed to postpone their repayment for the years 1991-95.

Negotiations on another agreement to regulate Poland's commitments towards Japan due in the years 198 -1988 [figures as received] are nearing an end.

Session on Upcoming Ideological Conference

AU1111130488 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 9 Nov 88 p 2

[PAP report: "Before the Third All-Poland Theoretical-Ideological Conference of the PZPR—Changes in Socialist Countries"]

[Text] Changes in the socialist countries show that people both criticize the past and comprehend the challenges of the present and the future, stated the 8 November Warsaw extended session of the team for research into ideological trends in the contemporary world and into the development of the programmatic thought and practice of the fraternal parties. The session, which was organized in connection with the preparations for the Third All-Poland Theoretical-Ideological Conference of the PZPR, discussed the nature of the present changes and development trends in the socialist countries.

The session agreed that the socialist countries had reached the turning point in their development, that negative features, some of which had even turned into crises, had asserted themselves with all force in social and political life, and that these features may be overcome only through in-depth reforms.

Ceausescu Cables Hungarian Leaders From Plane

AU2111150288 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 18 Nov 88 p 3

["Telegram From Aboard Presidential Plane" sent by Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania, to Karoly Grosz, MSZMP general secretary, and to Bruno F. Straub, president of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic]

[Text] To Comrade Karoly Grosz, MSZMP general secretary and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic, and to Comrade Bruno F. Straub, president of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic:

Flying over the territory of the Hungarian People's Republic on my way to the GDR, I convey to you comradely greetings and best wishes to you personally and to the Hungarian people.

Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania

RCP Greets MSZMP on 70th Anniversary

AU2411194488 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1913 GMT 24 Nov 88

["On the 70th Foundation Anniversary of the Hungarian Communist' Party"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 24/11/1988—On the 70th foundation anniversary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party sent the Central Committee of that party a telegram conveying a comradely salute and the best wishes.

Relations of solidarity and collaboration in the joint fight against exploitation and oppression, against imperialism and fascism, for freedom, democracy and socialism were established between our two parties right after their creation, the telegram reads.

The telegram expresses the determination to further work, in the spirit of mutual esteem and respect, for the promotion of links of friendship and collaboration between the Romanian Communist Party and the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, between Romania and Hungary, on the basis of the principles of full equality of rights and respect for national independence and sovereignty, for cooperation in the two countries' socialist development, for the building of security in Europe and the achievement of disarmament and peace in the world.

Hungary Declares Diplomat Persona Non Grata

AU2411185188 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1800 GMT 24 Nov 88

[Text] The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the SR of Romania announces the following:

Today, 24 November, at 1300, Istvan Oszi, deputy foreign minister of the Hungarian People's Republic, informed the charge d'affaires of the SR of Romania in Budapest that, as a result of the measures taken by the Romanian authorities against the Hungarian diplomat Karoly Gyorffy, the counsellor of the Embassy of the SR of Romania in Budapest, Pavel Platona, has been declared persona non grata and has to leave the territory of the Hungarian People's Republic within 72 hours.

The deputy foreign minister of the Hungarian People's Republic put no blame on the Romanian diplomat.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the SR of Romania protests this arbitrary decision by the Hungarian authorities, a decision which is in no way justified, and considers such a measure is at variance with the international practice and with norms of interstate relations.

Book on Horthyst 'Collective Crimes, Massacres'

AU2411213888 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1904 GMT 24 Nov 88

["A Document Book"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 24/11/1988—The Dacia publishers of Cluj-Napoca recently put out the book "Administratia Militara Horthysta in Nord-Vestul Romaniei. (Septembrie-Noiembrie 1940)", (Horthyst Military Administration in North-Western Romania. September-November 1940) by Gh. I. Bodea, Vasile T. Suciu, and Ilie I. Puscas, the first in a series devoted to the history of the Romanian martyrdom in the years of the Horthyst and Hitlerite terror during the fascist occupation of 1940-1944.

The respective period is divided into three distinct stages: the first, between 1 September and 25 November 1940, when in the territory occupied under the Vienna fascist dictate, the Horthyst military administration was established and an official policy of genocide started been pursued [sentence as received]; the second, spanning the years 1941-1944, of the Horthyst occupation and civil administration and the anti-Soviet war, when the terror had been diversified in subtle forms and methods, hitting not only the Romanian population but also the antiwar and antifascist, progressive, communist, revolutionary movement; the third, from 23 August to 25 October 1944, when the Horthysts and fascists retreated and committed collective crimes and massacres.

The volume analyzes the first stage in a monographic manner, and pinpoints the aims and mechanisms which generated the abberant genocide during the Horthyst military administration in numerous Romanian villages—Treznea, Ip, Nusfalau, Hida, Muresenii de Cimpie, Camar, Cosniciul de Sus si de Jos, Halmajd, Huedin, Cluj, Sintana de Mures.

Written as a chronicle, giving several reports of the same event, the book is the outcome of twenty years of strenous work of the authors who made researches in home and foreign archives, private documentary stocks, the press of the time, and checks with eye-witnesses.

The authors show that the large vast display of Horthyst military forces in North-Western Romania was in fact a retaliation expedition and the criminal and terrorist

actions were the direct outcome and coronation of the fascist, nationalist-chauvinist, revisionist policy the Horthyst rulers turned into a state policy in Hungary for twenty years.

Over 1 September-1 November 1940 alone, in the territory occupied in North-Western Romania, the Horthysts committed 919 assassinations, 1126 torturings, 4126 beatings, 15,893 arrests, 469 collective and individual dessecrations and devastations and hundreds of thousands of Romanians were forced into concentration camps or expulsed over the temporary border.

The recently issued volume brings new data to complete the documentary stock made up of other reference books on the temporary Horthyst occupation in North-Western Romania.

RCP Plenary Meeting Convened for 28-30 Nov

AU2311165888 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1645 GMT 23 Nov 88

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 23/11/1988—During its November 23 meeting, the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP called a joint plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party and of the other bodies of revolutionary worker democracy over November 28-30, 1988.

State Council Calls GNA Session for 1 Dec

AU2311190488 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1846 GMT 23 Nov 88

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 23/11/1988—By a decree of the State Council signed by Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, the Grand National Assembly was called in the eighth session of the ninth legislature on December 1, 1988.

Role of State, Nation in Building Socialism

AU2311175588 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1622 GMT 23 Nov 88

["A New Outlook on the Role of the State and the Nation in Socialism"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 23/11/1988—Referring to the building of the socialist state in Romania, Dumitru Ghise shows in an article he contributes in SCINTEIA of 23 November that, as the experience of socialist revolutions has proved, owing to the great diversity of conditions in one country or another, there is no unique model apt to be applied in any historical and social circumstance. Taking more or less into account such a model, under the influence of the dogmatic thinking which left its print on the international communist movement, in Romania too, immediately after 23 August 1944 the influences of such an outlook could be felt embodied in what it was called the proletariat's dictatorship.

Seeing the state in such a simplifying manner, as a mere reverse of forces, errors and abuses were committed which led to unilateral understandings of the concept of "proletariat's dictatorship", to its identification with practices the RCP has condemned vehemently and with revolutionary consistency through its General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu.

Through its very nature, the author of the article further shows, the state also has a repressive function. The way in which it is exercised just as the essence of power in the name of which it is exercised are radically different in the case of the socialist state. The non-violent ways of winning political power and, especially, the democratic ways of exercising power prove the fact that "proletariat's dictatorship" is not a necessary and ineluctable statal form. It is the merit of the RCP that, since the Ninth Congress, it was considerably elucidated, both theoretically and practically, the role of the socialist state and nation.

The RCP general secretary has shown more than once that socialism, as a superior form of organizing social life cannot be conceived without a new-type democracy: the revolutionary democracy—the sociopolitical framework apt to ensure the masses' broad participation in the management of society.

After referring to old practices which absolutized the thesis according to which "proletarians have no homeland", thus reasoning the disconsideration of national interests in the elaboration of the political line of some parties, the author stresses that a careful analysis of historical phenomena has clearly shown the dialectical unity between the social and the national, that, in fact, the social manifests itself concurrently with the emergence of the nations on a historical scale, in and through the national. The nation has been one of the fundamental factors of social progress, of its acceleration. With this historical reality as a basis, RCP General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu formulated the thesis according to which the nation, far from having exhausted its historic role, is and will be for a long time, in socialism as well, a highly mobilizing factor in the fight for progress, for social freedom and justice.

The revolutionary spirit characterizing the theoretical and practical activity of the RCP, the author of the article further shows, can also be found in the policy of solving the national question in Romania. Steadily taking into account that Romania is a unitary national state where nationalities also live and that, over the centuries, they have lived and worked alongside the Romanians, that brotherhood has been born in the joint fight for a better life, for social and national justice and equality, the RCP solved the national question with revolutionary consistency, guaranteeing democratic rights and liberties to all the homeland's sons, whatever their nationality.

The independent development and the flourishing of each socialist nation not only that do not run counter the interests of international collaboration and solidarity among the states of the socialist system but they are a basic prerequisite for the consolidation of its force and unity, for the growing prestige and influence of socialism in the world, the article also shows.

Restrictions Imposed on Gatherings in Kosovo
AU2311185988 Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 23 Nov 88

[Text] Working people, students, and schoolchildren throughout Kosovo went about their normal daily business. Following the evaluation of the Kosovo Presidency that special circumstances have been created in the province, which endanger public order as a result of gatherings and the organized arrival of persons of Albanian nationality in Pristina whose purpose was to protest, the Executive Council of the Kosovo Assembly adopted a decision that, in conformity with Article 53, Paragraph 1 of the Internal Affairs Law, the Internal Affairs Secretariat should issue a proclamation banning the movement or entry of people in public places or stipulated areas.

On this basis, the internal affairs secretary has issued a regulation which goes into effect as of today and prohibits the entry and movement of large groups of people in public places in Pristina and other cities of the province, as well as the massive and organized arrival of people in Pristina.

Citizens are asked to respect the measures proclaimed in the regulation, while officials are authorized to adopt all legal measures against people disobeying this regulation, whose intention is to prevent public disorder. The measures stipulated in the regulation should not disturb the normal life and activity of citizens.

Statement Explains Bans
LD2311204588 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1641 GMT 23 Nov 88

[Text] Pristina, 23 Nov (TANJUG)—In a special statement issued today to explain the reason for banning mass gatherings and organized travels in the province, the Kosovo Executive Council stressed that abandoning such forms of protest would represent "the greatest contribution to the efforts to stabilize the situation."

The following is the text of the statement by the Kosovo Executive Council, which met in a session yesterday:

The Executive Council of the Assembly of the Socialist Autonomous Province [SAP] of Kosovo has discussed the current situation in the province in the light of the 5 days of gatherings of people of Albanian nationality. The Executive Council has come to the conclusion that the appeals by the SFRY Presidency, the Presidency of the SAP of Kosovo and its president Ramiz Koljgeci, and by Trepca miners and of Pristina University representatives were supported and respected with considerable amount of consistency by all the working people, citizens, pupils, and peasants. It would be of the greatest assistance and support if the gatherings were stopped; the greatest contribution to the efforts to stabilize the situation would be a return to work in all organizations, institutions, faculties, and schools.

The workign people, citizens, students, and pupils of all the nations and nationalities in the SAP of Kosovo have kept their promise strictly and consistently to comply with the appeals by the top leaderships of both the country and the SAP of Kosovo. As a result, not a single gathering has taken place over the last 2 days. Life is back to normal throughout the province, while the time lost through gatherings is being made up for by extra work and effort. There is no doubt that intensive political activity in all environments in the province is contributing to the stabilization of the political and security situation.

The Executive Council is convinced that, following all the appeals and sociopolitical activity and owing to the high degree of awareness among our citizens, there will no longer be any gatherings.

However, if threats to public order continue in the province in the form of gatherings, the Excutive Council of the Assembly of the SAP of Kosovo will, in light of the 22 November statement by the Presidency of the SAP of Kosovo that in present conditions public order may be threatened, pass a decision empowering the internal affairs organs to take measures under Article 53, paragraph 1 of the Law on the Internal Affairs Organs. Under this article, the movement of people and public gatherings can be restricted or banned.

The Executive Council of the Assembly of the SAP of Kosovo stresses that respect and support for the standpoints of the top state and party organs of both the country and the province are and will remain the sole way of successfully overcoming the present situation within the framework of legal institutions of our social system and through work, learning, involvement, and a high degree of alertness. We are deeply convinced that the conduct of our citizens will not lead to measures of coercion on the part of competent organs in line with their legal powers.

Kosovo 'Calm' After Ban
LD2411215488 Belgrade TANJNUG in English 2027 GMT 24 Nov 88

[Text] Pristina, Nov 24 (TANJUG)—The situation in Yugoslavia's Kosovo Province today is calm following yesterday's ban by the provincial Secretariat for Internal Affairs on mass gatherings in public places.

The only visible sign of tension left after five days of demonstrations and rallies by ethnic Albanians in Pristina and other towns in the province are frequent police cars patrolling the steets.

The Provincial Council of Trade Unions said that the enterprises, schools and university faculties were working normally.

At the same time intensive political activity is under way in the field, with party meetings being held throughout the province to discuss recent developments and point out the harm and danger of continuing the mass gatherings on a one-nationality basis in which Albanian separatists "had their fingers."

The public is awaitng with particular interest the announced special session of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo, which is likely to be held early next month.

Serbian LC Presidium Concludes Conference

Statement Issued

AU2311184788 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 23 Nov 88

[Statement issued by the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium and the Serbian Presidency and read by Ratomir Vico, member of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium at the Serbian LC Conference in Belgrade on 23 November—live]

[Text] [Beginning of recording obscured by announcer]

....situation in Kosovo. At their joint session of 21 November the Serbian Presidency and the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium, on the basis of all the available information and the direct and continuous following of the current events in Kosovo, as well as the discussion conducted at the session of the Serbian Presidency of 19 November and the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium of 18 and 20 November this year, discussed the current political and security situation in Kosovo and adopted the following assessments and views:

The counterrevolution in Kosovo continues through the escalation and increasingly aggressive activities of Albanian nationalists and separatists. The personal security and safety of Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo are greatly threatened, and more and more of these people are emigrating under duress. The activities and work of the system's institutions and subjective forces are conducted under extremely difficult conditions. Indoctrination within the ranks of Albanians, particularly the Albanian youth, continues. Albanian nationalists and separatists are undertaking actions with greater proportions, and these have been particularly noticeable in the last few days.

The beginning of the gathering and demonstrations in Kosovo are linked with the holding, course, and outcome of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee session at which decisions were made concerning accountability, ideopolitical differentiation, and cadre renewal for failing to implement the conclusions of the ninth plenum in the struggle against the counterrevolution in Kosovo. Opportunism in the top Kosovo leadership and delays in implementing the conclusions of the ninth plenum have been especially expressed at the time when, after the 17th LCY Central Committee session, we needed to establish individual accountability for the worsening of the situation in Kosovo, about which the LCY Central Committee adopted clear views.

Resistance which had been noticed in a preparatory stage of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee, and especially delays, vacillation, and an attempt to reduce cadre changes to a minimum are the cause of the further worsening in interethnic mistrust, of the deepening of interethnic divisions, and of further threats to the personal safety and property of Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo.

Also contributing to these divisions are the well-known phenomena in the public debate on the draft amendments to the Constitution of Serbia and the fact that there was no immediate opposition to tendentious interpretations that the constitutional changes will abolish the autonomy of the province and deprive the Albanian people of their basic rights, such as the right to their language, education, and so forth.

This and delays in establishing accountability contributed to the manipulation of the citizens of the Albanian nationality. All this has encouraged the nationalist and separatist forces in Kosovo to use the mass gatherings of the workers and citizens of Albanian nationality and to openly enter the political scene and demonstrate.

At the very beginning of the gatherings [words indistinct] but as the gatherings went on, and as their composition started to change, particularly in the later stages and toward the end of these events, the separatists turned into increasingly vociferous and impudent proponents of these phenomena which undoubtedly represent a continuity of the counterrevolutionary events of 1981. A great number of citizens and workers who do not have any nationalist feelings, followed the organizers with the best intentions because they were of the opinion that, due to the incorrect political work of the leadership, both of the LC and the provincial SAWP, the accountability of the provincial leadership took place on the basis of allegedly unfounded pressure on the cadres and because they were not clearly and convincingly informed and convinced of the facts of the increasingly bad situation in the province, as well as of the fact that someone must bear responsibility for failure to implement LCY policies, because this is the clear view of the 9th, 16th, and 17th LCY Central Committee sessions. These citizens took part in the public demonstrations because they were wrongly informed that the changes in the Serbian Constitution mean an end to the autonomy and to the right of those of Albanian nationality to their language and education.

Because of these events, the accountability of those who should bear responsibility for failing to implement the LCY's policies is today greater than it was before.

As far as the course of events is concerned, the resistance to the process of establishing accountability and cadre changes in the provincial committee and the Constitution, which is to say the implementation of the LCY Central Committee conclusions, had already been opposed in the afternoon of the first day, when students and pupils gathered together. After the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee session, the gathering continued in Pristina. The slogan Kosovo—Republic was already seen in Urosevac on the following day. The largest gatherings and demonstrations took place in Pristina on 18 and 19 November. The demonstrations expressed political demands and slogans. They escalated further and increasingly openly expressed slogans with a hostile content. The composition of the demonstrators changed, while the political demands and slogans were directed toward further pressure on the provincial committee to change its decision. It is clear from these facts that these gatherings were organized and synchronized. The aim and character of such [word indistinct] demonstrations is illustrated by some of the slogans which have been shouted in Kosovo in the last few days: Kosovo — republic; We will give our lives but not Kosovo; Kosovo yes, Metohija no; All Kosovo is against constitutional changes; I do not accept resignations; We do not want changes in the Constitution of 1974; Comrade Tito taught us not to change the Constitution. A song [words indistinct] was also sung.

One of the main characteristics of these demonstrations is that the slogans, demands, and behavior that the nationalists used were anti-Serbian and anti-Yugoslav. This is the crudest form of pressure on Serbs and Montenegrins, on their safety and security and this is, objectively speaking, the most extensive demonstration of pressure on Serbs and Montenegrins to emigrate from Kosovo.

An extremely dangerous characteristic of these demonstrations is the exercise of force through the organized movement of a mass of demonstrators of Albanian nationality through Kosovo Polje and other places which have the greatest concentration of Serbian and Montenegrin inhabitants. The fact is that the greatest number of demonstrators came by or got out of trucks and buses in Kosovo Polje and then left for Pristina from there on foot.

Expressing a threat in such a way is the most serious and so far unused way of threatening the security of Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo. It was not even used in 1981. This could be manifested in the future, if it is repeated, in the form of the direct use of force by Albanian nationalists and separatists, that is in the form of the provocation of a direct clash.

The general state of anxiety, fear, insecurity, and extreme uncertainty about what could happen tomorrow has increased in recent days because it has been obvious that the organs of authority and the sociopolitical organizations were not able to stop this aggressive demonstration of force against the Serbian and Montenegrin population.

The high level of synchronization in the organization of the demonstrations which engulfed the whole province, as well as the coordination of the actions and participation of condemned persons is obvious proof that the organizers and initiators of these demonstrations came (?from the core) of those who appeared in 1981, although there are also new people involved. This shows that the core and the leadership of the nationalist and separatist movement is still strongly organized and in operation.

There was the obvious presence of coordinators who gave the participants signals, instructions, and orders concerning the way to behave, what to say, which slogans to shout, when to applaud, and when to boo. The organization was so good that the directions that the participants would move in were predicted, as well as the places to stop, the agenda, the relieving of groups, and so on. The high level of organization was shown in the fact that the course of events continued exactly the way the demonstrators announced. For example, they announced a gathering on Friday at 1800, which is what happened. Yesterday they announced the same thing for today, and that happened too. They announced that snow would fall tomorrow at 0500, and the demonstrators arrived with white helmets. They announced the same again but even bigger, which also happened.

However, on the other hand, the authoritative organs of the leadership showed no ability to predict and prevent the events and did not convincingly exert their influence on the course of events. It is absolutely (?unacceptable) that the competent state organs did not discover or [word indistinct] the organizers. This means that the authoritative organs, the state organs, failed the examination in this most important and for them [word indistinct] task. Suitable conclusions must be drawn from this and suitable measures taken. Pressure from platforms against LC policy, that is against the constitutional and cadre changes, must be eliminated.

Also politically unacceptable was the attempt to minimize the hostile content of these demonstrations and reduce it to individuals although the public could have been convinced of the content of the demonstrations and even the mass shouting of the slogan Kosovo—republic. The attempt to minimize all of this and reduce it to individuals represents only the continuation of the old practice of bringing into question even obvious facts.

Everything that was hostile in the content of these demonstrations and contrary to the policy and conclusions of the LCY Central Committee should not be concealed by the myriad Yugoslav symbols which were carried by the demonstrators. The public has noticed that among the political characteristics of the demonstrations, the contradiction between support for the LCY

Central Committee and mass opposition to the implementation of the conclusions of this same Central Committee on responsibility and changes to the Constitution, was particularly stressed.

What emerges from this is the fact that support for the LCY Central Committee is formal and is only a screen for separatist and nationalist activity. This is a continuation of the long-term practice which particularly came to the fore in the time after the 9th plenum, when the decisions of the plenum were supposedly openly supported but in reality were not implemented.

The ignoring of Serbia and the supposed constant invocation of Yugoslavia is not only a clear stand against Serbia, but also a real stand against Yugoslavia, a basically anti-Yugoslav stand, and a special kind of advocation of a Kosovo republic. This is the consequence of an incorrect long-term policy which did not see Kosovo as part of the SR of Serbia, and which is in line with separatist tendencies.

The public is embittered because people could see, among other things, how support was given to Fadilj Hodza or how individuals were chanted at who were responsible for failure to implement the LCY's policy on Kosovo while in the same place, within a short period of time, Comrade Sinan Hasani, a member of the SFRY Presidency, was booed, who had acted in a principled way from the position of the LCY policy, not only on this occasion, but also at the actual session of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee.

The shouting of the slogan Kosovo—republic, not only on one occasion and not only in one place in Kosovo, which has been accepted in the last few days by a great number of participants in the demonstrations which the entire public could see on television, clearly shows that, in the course of events, the demonstrations acquired a hostile character and that they were against the constitutional order of the SFRY.

Counterrevolutionary events from the position of Albanian nationalism and separatism have obviously continued since 1981. For this reason, the demonstrators [words indistinct] the constitutional order of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, the SR of Serbia, and the SFRY. The character of the gatherings and the demonstrations and their messages in Kosovo shows that the short-term aims of the organizers are to overturn the decisions of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee on the establishment of responsibility, differentiation, and cadre renewal, and therefore oppose the decisions of the 17th session of the LCY Central Committee, in order to demonstrate their deciding role in and influence on the taking of political decisions, and especially to prevent the changes to the Constitution of the SR of Serbia.

It is obvious that these aims are within the framework of the long-term intentions of Albanian separatism and chauvinism to prevent the implementation of the LCY's policy on Kosovo, to preserve the present actual status of Kosovo as a state, and to create conditions for the realization of the idea of an ethnically pure Kosovo, and thereby achieve the separatist aim of creating a greater Albania through seceding Kosovo from the SR of Serbia and Yugoslavia.

The Presidency of the SR of Serbia and the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium state with great concern that the continuation of such tendencies could have a very negative influence on worsening the political-security situation in Kosovo, and threatening the stability and security of Serbia and the whole country. On the basis of the stated facts, and especially considering the fact that people are threatened and that the system does not work, or works only with lasting difficulties, but also considering that the organs of the SR of Serbia do not have the necessary legal powers, the Presidency and the Presidium conclude:

One: That everything be done primarily through political measures and action based on the conclusions of the 9th, 16th, and 17th sessions of the LCY Central Committee to prevent a further escalation of anti-Serbian and anti-Yugoslav behavior. To this end, it is essential to ensure unity at all levels in assessments of the character of events in Kosovo and in measures which should be immediately taken together and in a synchronized way to bring under control and eliminate undesirable trends.

Two: The stands of the LCY Central Committee and the Serbia LC Central Committee on responsibility, differentiation, and cadre renewal in the Kosovo LC, and the decisions taken in connection with them must be implemented in their entirety, regardless of resistance and pressure and attempts at different interpretations and [word indistinct] of these stands and decisions. Organs of the Serbian LC Central Committee will act consistently, in accordance with the obligations, responsibilities, and powers established at the 17th session of the LCY Central Committee.

Three: The fact that the organizers of these very well-synchronized and well-prepared demonstrations have not been discovered opens up the question of the work and responsibility of the authoritative state organs in the province and federation.

Four: Direct pressure in Kosovo Polje, the settlement where there is a great concentration of Serbs and Montenegrins, cannot be treated as an ordinary excess, but involves a direct threat to the integrity of citizens of Serbian and Montenegrin nationality. Therefore, all available measures must be used to prevent further demonstrations as a form of mass pressure on citizens of Serbian and Montenegrin nationality throughout Kosovo and particularly in Kosovo Polje and Gracanica, pressure which is aimed at bringing about unprecedented

consequences in the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo, and which is the very essence of the nationalistic and separatist policy of an ethnically pure Kosovo.

Five: In view of the great danger and unforeseeable consequences of a possible development of such events, and especially in view of the case of mass physical pressure on Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo Polje, the Presidency and the Presidium concluded that every possibility of a repeat of such events must be eliminated. If there is not sufficient political strength to act vigorously with political means in this respect, then the escalation of such activities from hostile and anticonstitutional positions must be immediately prevented by the appropriate state organs through the application of all measures and on the basis of the laws and Constitution of the SFRY.

At the same time, it is the duty of the state organs to undertake all measures needed to reveal the organizers, individual and group organizers, and to establish their political, criminal, civil, and all other responsibility.

The Presidency and the Presidium support the measures undertaken by appropriate organs, above all the SFRY Presidency, which should be carried out by the provincial, republican, and federal organs. Parallel to this, there is also a need to work persistently on the strengthening of political work, to solve problems with political means, and to ensure political stability in Kosovo on a long-lasting basis.

Six: The Presidency and the Presidium are of the opinion that, in view of everything, it is necessary to start a discussion in the SFRY Assembly, as the highest organ of power, on the following questions: mass and nationalist pressure on the citizens of Serb and Montenegrin nationality who have suffered threats and insults; the reaction, or rather lack of reaction on the part of appropriate state organs to this pressure; the reasons for the lack of any official information about the organizers and the organization of the demonstrations; hesitation to intervene, even in a situation in which there is aggressive mass physical pressure, and provocations such as Kosovo—republic. One must open the question of the responsibility of all appropriate organs concerning their tasks to prevent and eliminate all counterrevolutionary, anti-Serb, and anti-Yugoslav activities.

Seven: The Presidency and the Presidium once against stress that the strengthening of a united front of Serbs, Montenegrins, Albanians, Turks, Muslims, and all other peoples and nationalities who live in Kosovo is the only way to solve the Kosovo crisis and that the civilized, examplary legal system, based on respect for basic human rights, the equality of the peoples and nationalities, and democracy, must immediately act, without any hesitation.

The LC of Serbia, the workers, and the citizens of the SR of Serbia are fighting for Tito's Yugoslavia and brotherhood and unity, and therefore every honest citizen in our republic, above all the Communists, must oppose all nationalism. Albanians must oppose Albanian nationalism in the same way that Serbs oppose Serbian nationalism, in the way that other peoples and nationalities and all of us jointly oppose everything that is breaking up our country. When an additional analysis is produced on the basis of new knowledge and facts, we, together with LCY Central Committee Presidium and the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium, will make a fuller political assessment of the content of the political and other consequences of these events, and adopt a program of further measures and action.

Nine: On 22 November of this year, the Presidency and Presidium informed the SFRY Presidency and the LCY Central Committee Presidium about these assessments and views. [Signed] Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium, and Petar Gracanin, president of the Serbian Presidency, Belgrade, 21 November 1988
Thank you. [applause]

Milosevic Closes Conference

AU2311215988 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2055 GMT 23 Nov 88

[Closing speech by Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium, at the Serbian LC Conference held in the Sava Center in Belgrade—live]

[Text] Comrades. Most of the delegates at our 3-day conference expressed the belief that what should be contained in the social reform is clear. On this basis it is easy to conclude that the contents of the reform will be clear to those communities which have been represented at the conference. I am stressing clarity as a very important or at least a very significant attribute of the reform. If people do not understand what the changes will bring, then they cannot even accept them and, especially they cannot implement them.

We hope therefore that the clear changes that the reform will bring about will also mean support for the changes and the great involvement of all Communists of Serbia in carrying out the changes. In themselves they should help Serbia in resolving the crisis, particularly in the area of the economy and economic life in general.

We have stressed in the Serbian LC several times and wherever else we have had the opportunity, that our aim is not only the resolution of the crisis but quicker and more successful further development in all areas of social reality.

In communicating the messages of their communities, delegates at the conference have in these 3 days spoken about many things that could have been heard among the

public in the last few months, like a great general demand for changes and many proposals on specific changes. It can be concluded from this that the reform is in line with the needs of working people and citizens and that it represents the expression of their material and social interests and the expression of their political and cultural mood. Because of this, we really have many reasons to believe in the reform's success.

I must once again stress that the reform will increasingly need all ideas as well as all people. Not one idea, not one person who is for socialism, for Tito's Yugoslavia, and for the prosperity of Serbia will be superfluous. In any case, various changes in society depend on the mobilization of the intelligence and the people which are part of society. Now we need the greatest possible mobilization for reform.

Judging by the conduct in this hall, at this conference, this mobilization for reform is under way. Reform will bring historical changes in our society. We expect that the reform will improve our life and the international public expects to see if self-managing socialism has a chance.

We are seriously hoping for success after this conference. In any case, we have so many different kinds of difficulties that the only thing we need now is success. This is not premature optimism. [applause] This is not premature optimism. Success is our only way if we want to make historical and civilized (?progress). I am convinced that I share the joint belief of all the participants in the conference that we will carry the reform through. I also believe that I share the genuine joy of all of you at the fact that all the citizens and working people of the SR of Serbia will jointly participate in the realization of the reform. In this respect I greet all the participants in the Serbian LC conference and wish everybody success in the obligations they have undertaken at the conference. Thank you. [applause]

Serbian Conference Ends

LD2311213688 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2107 GMT 23 Nov 88

[Text] Belgrade, 23 Nov (TANJUG)—The adoption of tasks of the Serbian LC regarding the realization of economic and social reforms and the concluding speech by Slobodan Milosevic marked the end of the Serbian LC Confrence at Belgrade's Sava Center this evening.

In the past 3 days, 326 of about 750 conference delegates spoke or submitted written speeches. Apart from the tasks in connection with the realization of the reform, the delegates primarily expressed their views and assessments on Kosovo's very shaky reality.

LCY Presidium Assesses Kosovo Situation

LD2411211388 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1536 GMT 24 Nov 88

[Text] Belgrade, 24 Nov (TANJUG)—The LCY Central Committee insists that the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee (PC) should realize the conclusions of the 17th LCY Central Committee session on establishing responsibility for the stabilization of events in Kosovo consistently and as soon as possible, so that the LC leaderships at all levels in the province will be consolidated, which is one of the basic conditions for the further overall activity of the Kosovo LC aimed at the stabilization of the political situation and the prevention of the activity and influence of the forces of the counterrevolution. This is stated in a communique from a LCY CC Presidium session held on 23d November, chaired by Dr Stipe Suvar.

The session discussed the realization of the conclusions of the 17th LCY CC session on Kosovo, especially in light of the mass gatherings of citizens of the Albanian nationality which took place in the past days.

As reported the discussion pointed out that indecision in realizing the conclusions on responsibility resulted in resignations and dismissals, but that the process of differentiation should be continued in all the Kosovo LC organs and organizations.

At its extraordinary session of 19 November, the LCY Central Committee Presidium noted that the mass gatherings and arrivals of citizens of the Albanian nationality in Pristina threatened to have serious negative consequences for the already unfavourable political and security situation in Kosovo further aggravating the disturbed intra-national relations and that they could also negatively reflect on the overall political situation in the country. The broad political action of organized socialist forces in Kosovo which followed, intensified with a number of measures of state organs and direct cooperation with the leaderships of the Serbian and Yugoslav LC's, contributed to the end of mass protest gatherings, it is stated in the communique from the session of the LCY Central Committee Presidium.

The Presidium noted, however, that the mass gathering of citizens of the Albanian nationality have aggravated the overall situation in Kosovo and intra-national relations to such an extent, that a political action should be carried out with the same intensity in all working and living environments in Kosovo to prevent the further exacerbation of the political-security situation. It is necessary to assess the causes and effects of the protest gatherings as soon as possible and adopt an action program of activity which would proceed from the conclusions of the 17th LCY CC session on Kosovo.

The action program, as decided, will be unanimously adopted by the Presidiums of the LCY Central Committee, the Serbian LC Central Committee and the Kosovo

LC Provisional Committee. Emphasis ought to be on the political action among the Albanians, Serbs and Montenegrins, to finally prevent new gatherings on a national basis and create a united common front of struggle for progress and life together of all our people in Kosovo, regardless of their nationality. Among the Albanian population it is necessary to suppress misinformation and fears of the draft changes to the Serbian Constitution and a so-called threatening of the rights of nationalities and the autonomy of the provinces.

The LCY, it was stressed at the session, does not and cannot step back from the principles and gains of the brotherhood and unity of our nations and nationalities in any part of the country and in its struggle for the final stablization of the situation in Kosovo is proceeding and will proceed from the political platform for the action of the LCY in the development of socialist self-management, brotherhood and unity and fellowship in Kosovo, the documents of the 13th LCY Congress and the conclusions of the 9th, 16th, and 17th LCY Central Committee sessions.

The session stressed, it is stated in the communique, that one cannot and must not renounce the establishing of responsibility for the failure to implement the stands of 9th, 16th, and 17th LCY Central Committee sessions in connection with the overcoming the causes, activity, and goals of the counterrevolution in Kosovo.

For the purpose of preventing the already existing and even more serious consequences of the gatherings by members of one nation, only members of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, executive secretaries of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, and a large number of the LCY CC members are visitng Kosovo. Their activity is in conjunction with the activity of broad political aktivs of Kosovo and municipalities. The Presidium decided that the LCY Central Committee members in charge of each of 26 Kosovo LC municipal organizations, together with members of the Serbian LC CC and members of the LCY CC from Kosovo, should continue their action in the LC municipal organizations in Kosovo aimed at the stablization of the political situation. Stress was laid on the need to involve members of the SAWP leaderships, trade unions, Federation of Veterans' Associations of Yugoslavia, and the Yugoslav Socialist Youth Federation in Kosovo.

The Presidium puts special emphasis on the decisive importance for coordinating assessments and stands in the LCY in connection with the recent events in Kosovo and the measures which were being taken to this purpose. It is necessary to organize unanimous action to break up the activity of the counterrevolutionary forces of Albanian nationalists and separatists, as well as the activity of Serbian nationalists to restore trust among people and overcome intra-national divisions.

The Presidium stressed once again that the public information media must not allow their commentaries and reports to stir up lack of intra-national trust. Through their involvement and activity the public media must be an important factor in restoring and building trust and constribute to the easing of the situation in the province.

The LCY Central Committee Presidium will brief the Central Committee on the activities relating to the realization of the conclusions of the 17th LCY Central Committee session at its next session.

Kurteshi Loses Delegate Immunity

LD2411233888 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2145 GMT 24 Nov 88

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 24 (TANJUG)—The Federal Chamber of the bi-cameral Assembly of Yugoslavia has passed with an overwhelming majority the decision to lift the immunity of delegate to the Federal Chamber and former president of the Assemblies of Yugoslavia and of the Autonomous Province of Kosovo Ilijaz Kurteshi. The vote was passed at the request of the District Court at Pec for consent to institute criminal proceedings.

In passing the decision, the delegates took as their point of departure the principled stand that Kurteshi can only in court prove or disprove the charge of having perpetrated a criminal act of inciting national and religious hatred. So far, Kurteshi has exercised his right to delegate immunity.

The bill of indictment charges Kurteshi with direct involvement in enabling the sale of the real estates of two Serbian families in Decani to two Albanian families.

Kosovo Officials Visit Municipal Leaders

LD2411205488 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1906 GMT 24 Nov 88

[Text] Pristina, 24 Nov (TANJUG)—A group of Kosovo officials today visited a number of Kosovo municipalities. They reportedly held talks with municipal leaders on the realization of the conclusions of the 17th LCY Central Committee session and the stabilization of the situation in the province.

Remzi Koljgeci visited Suva Reka, Prizren, Orahovac, and Glogovac: Kolj Siroka visited Gnjilane; and Kacusa Jasari visited Urosevac and Kacanik.

Assembly Proclaims Constitutional Amendments

LD2511093188 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0914 GMT 25 Nov 88

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Nov (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Assembly's Federal Chamber today proclaimed 39 amendments to the SFRY Constitution and a constitutional law for their implementation.

Addressing delegates and guests at the formal meeting in the Yugoslav Assembly on this occasion, Stjepan Novakovic, president of the Federal Chamber, said we have brought to an end a work of enormous social significance, important for the better life of people and for the future of the Yugoslav socialist community.

Federal Budget To Be Adopted by End of Year
AU2411163088 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 24 Nov 88

[Text] The delegates of the Federal Chamber discussed the draft federal budget for the next year. The total budget, according to the draft, stands at 20,920 billion dinars, including 14,800 billion dinars for the needs of the army. A decision on the draft federal budget for next year was not made at the session today, but will be made at the next session of the Federal Chamber scheduled to be held by 15 December at the latest. It was agreed that the draft is to be discussed in a shortened procedure and that the budget is to be adopted by 30 December at the latest.

Dobroslav Culafic, federal secretary for internal affairs, briefed the delegates on the situation in Kosovo in a closed session of the Federal Chamber.

Similarity of Belgrade, Pristina Events Noted
AU2311163788 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 22 Nov 88 p 5

[Vlado Slamberger commentary: "The Dark Pictures of All of Our Meetings"]

[Text] Yesterday morning Pristina was calm, which does not mean that in this case the day can be judged by its morning, because members of the Albanian nationality love evening meetings, and in Belgrade the atmosphere was once again festive and intense at the conference of the LC of Serbia, the last one in the chain of nine meetings of members of the LCY and its individual parts. The opening tone of this conference could not be different from what was heard at the confluence of the Sava and Danube Rivers on Saturday: It was a call for victory.

Belgrade and Pristina are separated by a few hundred kilometers but on Saturday there was no essential difference between the tunes which we heard from them. The participants in the Belgrade meeting were demanding a united and strong Yugoslavia and were cheering for brotherhood and unity; the "demonstrators"—as they were called in Serbia—on Pristina streets, in the Boro i Ramiz hall, and at the Pristina soccer field were acclaiming Tito, the LCY, and brotherhood and unity and were carrying Yugoslav, Serbian, and Albanian flags. In Belgrade nearly 1.5 million people unanimously expressed their support to Slobodan Milosevic and his team (including Dusan Ckrebic, who has changed his mind and withdrawn his resignation), and those in Pristina demanded the return of Kacusa Jasari and Azem Vlasi who had been "taken away" from them. However ingenious or forced it may appear, both were extending their hand to other parts of Yugoslavia (the slogan "Slovenes, we do not want to have a train as the only link between us!" was no accident).

Of course, some different tunes were also characteristic and anticipated both in Pristina and in Belgrade. The slogans "Kosovo—republic" (a prison term of up to 5 years can be the penalty for saying this), "Constitution—republic," "We give our life but we do not give up Kosovo" (the Serbs and Montenegrins were the first to carry around such a slogan), and "Long live the 1974 Constitution" (which means: no constitutional changes and, in fear for the autonomy of the province, above all, no greater powers of the SR of Serbia in Kosovo) were once again heard in the province.

If we look at the negative aspects of the "biggest meeting of all meetings in Yugoslavia since 1944," we see everything was tackled somewhat differently in Belgrade. The expectations of those familiar with the Serbian internal political conditions that, in addition to Kosovo, Slovenia would be one of the main targets, were fulfilled. "German, guard Serbianism," "Unprincipled coalition Alps - Adriatic," "Down with Stanovnik, Smole, Vrhovec," and "Hafner, watch your finger"—these were the slogans displayed for all to see. They were reinforced by speakers such as Rados Smiljkovic, who spoke about the anti-Yugoslav coalition, about spreading the fear of Serbia, something that is tantamount to "anti-Yugoslavism," and about the mortgage of coalition which prevents solutions to the essential Kosovo problems, as Svetomir Arsic put it. It is true of all these statements that their undertone made it very easy to realize at whom they were aimed. The sauce was spiced by Mitja Ribicic's "friend and fellow combatant," Mihajlo Svabic, with his reproaches to Joze Smole that he defends "spies" (it is hoped that the Ljubljana committee will sue Mihajlo Svabic for this slander) and to Janez Stanovnik that he is guilty of provocations, and by Slobodan Milosevic, who lectured all of Yugoslavia when he spoke about entangled conclusions (he was obviously hinting at the conclusions of the LCY Central Committee), confused reports (probably of the LCY Central Committee Presidium and some others), secret meetings (Joze Smole will be able to expand his suit against POLITIKA), spreading absurd interpretations of Yugoslav reality through the world, allegedly ambiguous but in fact hostile press statements (in support of the slogan "Down with Stanovnik"), and about a multitude of little, dirty tricks designed to frighten the Serbian people who have a big heart (it is probably only those in the north who can be as dirty as this because they are influenced by the capitalist world).

In the dark pictures of the events in Pristina (the Albanian politicians are warning their compatriots that meetings only harm them even if there are no excesses and that policies cannot be made in streets and outside

the system) and in Belgrade (the feeling is that Serbia is threatened) it is especially the meeting of all meetings that has left unanswered three essential questions:

What kind of a united Yugoslavia does one have in mind (either one that is regulated from a single center—and it is known which center this is—or a united Yugoslavia in which, with due recognition of all differences, we all must care for our life together, a life that should be democratic, economically efficient, and, briefly, better)?

Who are the people—apart from the Serbian people who faithfully listen to Slobodan Milosevic—who will agree to live in poverty but will not renounce freedom (what kind of freedom, because the freedom of one person may also threaten the freedom of others)?

What is to be understood by the word "victory" (Slobodan Milosevic in Belgrade: We will win regardless of the fact that today, as in the past, Serbia's enemies outside our state are joining forces with those in our country; Janez Stanovnik in Maribor: We are invincible because we are united; the economic power is created by hard work callouses and by productive work; we must make a breakthrough on the economic front)?

In the period in which we live—and we have no other choice—any unclear things only multiply disagreements and short circuits. Therefore, they should be avoided because different interpretations of the same concepts only further obscure responsibility. And we know that everyone, and especially Slobodan Milosevic and Janez Stanovnik, has his responsibility, first of all, to his own people; and the responsibility for our common fate is no less important. It is this latter responsibility to which we should give priority more often, whether as regards calming the situation in Kosovo or in relation to the constitutional amendments, the fate of the three reforms, the relations between the individual parts of Yugoslavia, or accords between peoples and nationalities.

Crowd Democracy Called 'Big Step Backwards'

AU2311141388 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 22 Nov 88 p 3

[Janja Klasinc commentary: "The Wave of Democracy That Sweeps One Away"]

[Text] "The wave of democracy that has overtaken Serbia can only trouble the environments that have not yet been reached by such a wave, and the certainty of its proximity disturbs and angers those whom it will sweep away when it comes." These are the words that Slobodan Milosevic uttered yesterday in the concluding part of his introductory report at the opening session of the Conference of the LC of Serbia to tell Yugoslavia clearly once again what democracy means to him. Thus, it is a wave that sweeps away.

Although it was possible to notice prior to the Belgrade meeting [on 19 November] and the current Conference of the LC of Serbia that the aggressive Serbian policy was retreating and giving priority to dialogue, these words and many other statements at the meeting show that the Serbian political leadership, with strong support from the people, continues to see democracy, brotherhood and unity, and everything else in this connection as a situation where only what is to its own taste is "right" and everything that is not to its taste is "democratically" removed or swept away, as we heard yesterday.

What then is the meaning of this democracy? It is certainly necessary to differentiate between what is democracy, what is democratization, what is liberalization, and what are uncontrolled developments. It seems that what is involved in Serbia in this connection are the elements of all the aforementioned phenomena and that everything there is very far removed from any kind of a political democracy. The fact that some crowds of people are shouting slogans, demanding resignations, and elevating certain individuals to the heavens does not in itself make it possible to consider this as political democracy. What is involved to a greater extent in this connection is a matter of rousing the crowds of people who want to have their say. However, they want to have their say immediately and at any price and not in an organized way, through political institutions, or in a soundly argued struggle of opinions. It is a characteristic of this phenomenon that the political elite rules over the crowds of people and that the crowds accept this elite as their own and leave everything in its hands. Thus, what is involved is a big step backwards in the development of democracy because the role of the people is once again assumed by a single individual or a single group of individuals. Yet, everything is presented as the will of the people and this argument is also always used to support all political demands that in fact originate in narrow offices and not in factories.

If anyone in these crowds thinks differently, he must be removed, and removed as vociferously and resolutely as possible. And thus we achieve a democracy of the equally minded. If someone continues to predict that a wave of such a democracy will also overtake other parts of Yugoslavia, we should all really be even more disturbed and angered and, above all, should build a dam of true democratization to stop all such waves.

Croatian Daily on 19 Nov Belgrade Rally

AU2411180288 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 20 Nov 88 p 3

[Ivkica Bacic commentary: "Expected and Unexpected"]

[Text] The meeting that had been announced and postponed was nevertheless held in Belgrade, which had "kept quiet for a long time until 2 years ago," in fact Belgrade was "often mute" and "Serbia went down and down and sank to a really shameful position," as the

leading people of the Belgrade front organization say in the latest edition of NIN. One of them says that with this meeting "the people will have both feet in politics." So far they have had one foot in it and he says that in the area around the confluence, they will have "a Roman forum where they will be able to freely express their will."

From a purely pragmatic point of view and with a good dose of journalists' free thought, what most interested the people who could not attend the meeting of solidarity with the Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo? Definitely things like how many people were gathered, whether Slobodan Milosevic spoke, what was cheered the most, what and who was booed, and was there direct or indirect mention of what is in fact happening in Kosovo? Aware of the trap into which it is easy to fall and deciding to assess by himself how many people were squeezed between two buildings, the LCY Central Committee building and that of the FEC, as well as bearing in mind all the reproaches which the "Zagreb press" has had to in fact suffer, from the official republican policy as well, because this press has supposedly always tendentiously reduced the number of those who have attended all the national gatherings so far, this reporter will first of all mention an official fact. At exactly 1200, greeting the Belgrade people and their guests, Dragan Tomic, president of the city's front organization, said: "There are 1.3 million of us here." In itself that number sounds impressive and not a little surprising, because the earlier forecasts even in the days prior to the meeting and in the hours after the gathering at the confluence, hovered at around 700,000 people.

For days prior to the rally, special programs were broadcast, the press reported on every step to be taken so that everything would take place in peace and dignity, as it did, it reported on the great security measures, the special trains and buses from all parts of Serbia, on the kiosks selling food and drink, on medical teams.... POLITIKA undoubtedly made its own contribution, printing a special edition 2 days beforehand entitled "Struggle for the Truth" with 40 pages of printed text, photographs, and cartoons, which had already been printed in its well-known column "Echoes and Reactions," as well as those that had not already been printed there. The special edition under the banner "The People Have Borne Witness to Their Time," with large photographs of Slobodan Milosevic and slightly smaller ones of Comrade Tito, contains pages in which "ordinary people," but also tens of those with the titles of doctor and professor, hold forth about the sufferings of Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo, the humiliating position of Serbia and its people, a "Serbia which along with the Yugoslav People's Army represents the main column of support for the unity of Yugoslavia" and which is therefore "attacked from the front" like the Yugoslav People's Army.

Each one of the 40 pages is decorated with slogans and quotes from national songs sung at the numerous meetings that have been held so far, and at which, just like today in Belgrade, there have been cheers for brotherhood and unity, a united Yugoslavia, a strong and united Serbia, and the workers class. However, on the same pages, like at the meeting in Belgrade, officials from the other republics and both provinces are called to account and of course not even those in the federal, state, and party leaderships are spared. Slovene politicians bear the brunt and virtually without any real rival, they are led by Janez Stanovnik who was given the following messages in Belgrade: "Shame on you, Janez" (with a drawing of an American dollar sign), "Some strange inhabitants" [in Serbo-Croatian the word stanovnik means inhabitant] (with the capital letter S crossed through like a dollar sign), "We do not want divisions, the CIA, and Janez," and "America has one more inhabitant."

Like the meeting, this special edition contains chants to Slobodan Milosevic and a song in his honor, but it also has "Slobo, Slobodan, our flower of dew, the whole nation is following you" which, before and after publication in the special edition, grated on the ears of many people, so this reporter dares to ask without any kind of pathos: Would it not have been more dignified to leave Tito's name untouched in the national song and to let the writers of national songs think up a new one? It cannot be that national leaders do not deserve at least a few new rhymes? And did the possibility not occur to the press, and not only the press in this republic, that it would be a little more difficult to reach a consensus among all Yugoslav peoples and nationalities concerning the ejection of Tito's name and that perhaps not everyone would see the violation of his name as a contribution to brotherhood and unity?

Many people wondered before the meeting: Will Slobodan Milosevic speak, will he use this opportunity to address the people immediately prior to the Serbian LC Conference which began its 3-day work on Monday? Although an unnecessary tactical game was played with his statements, and this is now obvious, there were few people who doubted it, especially in the last few days since the latest events in Kosovo. Yes, Slobodan Milosevic did speak, but he did not deal with those events, but, with another presentation of all the seriousness of the position of Serbs and Montenegrins in the southern province, he briefly told the gathered people: "This is no time for sorrow, but for struggle. The awareness of the people will stop the genocide in Kosovo and unite Serbia against which its enemies are joining forces in the country and abroad."

Foreign Policy Committee on Stanovnik Statements

LD2311201588 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1420 GMT 23 Nov 88

[Text] Belgrade, 23 Nov (TANJUG)—The Foreign Policy Committee of the SFRY Assembly's Federal Chamber has given support to the announcement by the SFRY

Presidency on the statements by Janez Stanovnik in the United States, noting that parts of the statements caused damage and were made in an appropriate place.

The Committee also decided that our officials speaking about Yugoslavia abroad are bound to comply with basic principles of its foreign policy. The Committee maintains that public statements carry a certain weight regardless of whether they are made privately or publicly.

Government Spokesman on Alia's 'Gross Interference'
LD2411202488 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1859 GMT 24 Nov 88

[Text] Nov 24 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Government Spokesman Ivo Vajgl on Thursday assessed a recent statement by Albanian President Ramiz Alia as gross interference in Yugoslav's internal affairs and an insult to its dignity.

The way in which Alia spoke at a congress of Albanian agricultural workers on Tuesday on the position of ethnic Albanians in Yugoslavia—who enjoy the same rights as all other peoples in this country was "incomprehensible," Vajgl told his regular weekly press conference.

He said that Alia's assessment was contrary to his remarks in the same speech on the prospects for establishing stability and good-neighbourly relations in the Balkans—an aim consistently advocated by Yugoslavia. This part of Alia's speech was in the spirit of the Balkan countries' ministerial meeting in Belgrade last February, he said.

Vajgl told newsmen that the Yugoslav ambassador to Albania had recently visited the Albanian area of Prespa, whose nine villages are inhabited by several thousand Macedonians, members of a nation whose main body lives in Yugoslavia. The ambassador was informed of the efforts being made for preserving their national identity, language and culture.

This was the first time in many years that a Yugoslav official visited an Albanian area inhabited by the Macedonian minority, the Yugoslav Government spokesman emphasized. He hoped that the Yugoslav ambassador would also be able to visit members of other Yugoslav nations living on Albanian territory.

Commentary on Alia's Criticism
LD2311231088 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1140 GMT 23 Nov 88

[Text] Belgrade, 23 Nov (TANJUG)—Albanian leader Ramiz Alia has again criticized Yugoslavia (this time at a congress of agricultural cooperatives 2 days ago) in connection with the relations in the Socialist Republic [SR] of Serbia. He maintained that the autonomy and rights of Albanians in Yugoslavia, recognized in the Yugoslavia Constitution, are being restricted.

In this speech, broadcast by Radio Tirana in Albanian, Alia called the constitutional changes in the SR of Serbia and the position of the province a step backwards. He went so far as to conclude that the Albanians have been placed "in conditions which prevailed at the time of Rankovic".

He did not explain or prove this assertion, thereby following the rule which often applies among the Albanian political leadership: that anything can be said even if it cannot be proved. He also recited the obligatory refrain that such an attitude is not interference in Yugoslavia's internal affairs.

Alia "supported" his thesis about the alleged deterioration of Albanian's position in Yugoslavia only by saying that this is being implemented "under the excuse of settling the constitutional question of Serbia and the struggle against so-called irredentism." On this occasion, too, he has failed to even grasp the essence of the constitutional changes in the Socialist Republic of Serbia, the aim of which, as is well-known, is to equalize its constitutional position with other Yugoslav republics. In the process he has ignored the fact that the legal organs of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo have also said that the constitutional changes in the Socialist Republic of Serbia do not bring into question the province's autonomy.

With his assertion that the constitutional changes in the SR of Serbia mean "open political and national discrimination against Albanians", on this occasion too, Alia completely ignores reality, setting himself up as judge of events in Yugoslavia. While he asserts that "this activity does not contribute either to the stablility of Yugoslavia itself or to peace and security in the Balkans", he is magnanimous with his "understanding of the great difficulty which Yugoslavia is undergoing."

Along with all these and similar tones, Alia repeats that Albania "has never interfered, nor is it interfering, in Yugoslavia's internal affairs, and that it does not stimulate the troubles or support any "reactionary anti-Yugoslav force." Of course, it is known who Alia considers the progressive forces and the reactionary forces.

Ramiz Alia placed part of his speech about Yugoslavia in the context of Balkan cooperation, where the words of the Albanian leader were intoned in a positive way. He said that the conference of the foreign ministers of the Balkan countries represented an important step for the beginning of an encouraging dialogue between the Balkan states. This conference, the Albanian party leader said, demonstrated that there is scope for understanding and cooperation. He added that many problems in the Balkans have accumulated throughout history and that

"the necessary political wisdom, clarity of perspective, and understanding of common interests and rejection of old mentalities is necessary to overcome them".

There are no objections to this, but it runs counter to his approach to relations with Yugoslavia.

Mikulic, Loncar Plan Trips to Netherlands, France

LD2411202088 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1916 GMT 24 Nov 88

[Text] Belgrade Nov 24 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Prime Minister Branko Mikulic will pay an official visit to the Netherlands on December 6-7 and foreign Secretary Budimir Loncar to France on November 28, Yugoslav Government spokesman Ivo Vajgl said here on Thursday.

Vajgl said that Mikulic's visit to the Netherlands, the first by a Yugoslav prime minister will be an expression of interest on both sides in continuing the high-level bilateral political dialogue.

Dutch prime minister Ruud Lubbers was in Yugoslavia in April 1984.

The Yugoslav-Dutch talks will focus on the prospects for expanding bilateral economic cooperation, where interest exist on both sides, and Yugosalvia's relations with the European Community, Vajgl said.

The Yugoslav prime minister is also expected to be received by Queen Beatrix of the Netherlands.

Vajgl said that Loncar's visit to France at the invitation of French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas would be in return for the one paid to Yugosalvia in October 1986 by Dumas's predecessor Jean-Bernard Raymond. It would be a result of the need of both countries for deepening their high-level dialogue.

Loncar and the French officials will discuss bilateral cooperation, primarily in the economic sphere, and international topics.

Loncar's visit to Paris will also be an occasion to mark the 150th anniversary of the establishment of relations between France and Serbia, which was a principality at the time and now is one of Yugoslavia's six republics.

Macedonians Protest Outside Greek Consulate

LD2311152188 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 23 Nov 88

[Text] We have just learned that tens of thousands of students and citizens from several Macedonian towns are holding a protest meeting in front of the Greek Consulate-General in Skopje. They are protesting the many years of stubborn nonrecognition of the Macedonian language and universities by neighboring Greece, which in fact means that the Macedonian state and the Macedonian nation are being contested. The gathering—or peaceful demonstration, as it is called by its organizers, the Conference of the Federation of Socialist Youth of the Kiril i Metodija University in Skopje—will last 2 hours.

It began at 1500 with a performance of Macedonian folk songs and dances. Later, writings and verses on Macedonia and Macedonian revolutionaries will be read by actors and drama students. A film on the life of Aegean Macedonians and their (?Golgotha) around the world will be shown.

At the end of the meeting a proclamation to the Yugoslav and world public will be read by Macedonian students. Also to be read is a declaration which, as the official document of the meeting, will be sent to the Greek Government though diplomatic channels, to the Rectors' Conference of European Universities in Geneva, and to the United Nations Organization.

Further on Macedonians' Protest

LD2311171588 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1601 GMT 23 Nov 88

[Excerpt] Bitola, 23 Nov (TANJUG)—About 10,000 students, pupils, young people, and citizens gathered today outside the cultural center in Bitolj to protest against the Greek Government's uncivilized attitude toward the Macedonian nation, its language, and universities in the Socialist Republic of Macedonia. Students from Prilep and Ohrid, as well as foreigners studying at Bitolj University—the newest in Yugoslavia—also took part in these peaceful and dignified demonstrations organized by the University Conference of the Federation of the Socialist Youth of Bitolj.

In a proclamation and declaration read by Ljupco Ugrinovski and Ljubica Angelovska, representatives of the university and youth organization of Bitolj stressed that the principlal aim of today's demonstrations was to mobilize the domestic and world public and to condemn the Greek Republic's negative attitude toward the Macedonian nation and its language. [passage omitted]

Protest Ends Peacefully

LD2311191988 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1755 GMT 23 Nov 88

[Excerpt] Skopje, 23 Nov (TANJUG)—Peaceful demonstrations outside the Greek Consulate in Skopje ended this evening in the same dignified way in which they started. The demonstrations were organized by the University Conference of the Federation of the Socialist Youth of Macedonia in protest at the discriminatory attitude by the Republic of Greece to the SR of Macedonia and the Macedonian nation. [passage omitted]

Government Spokesman on Demonstrations

LD2411204788 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1739 GMT24 Nov 88

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 24 (TANJUG)—So far there has been no official reaction from Greece to yesterday's peaceful demonstrations outside the Greek Consulate in Skopje, the capital of Yugoslavia's Republic of Macedonia, Yugoslav Government Spokesman Ivo Vajgl stated here on Thursday.

Speaking about the protest by some 20,000 citizens dissatisfied with the Greek Government's negation of the Macedonian nation, culture and language, and in connection with this about the recent visit to Yugoslavia by Greek Foreign Minister Karolos Papoulias, Vajgl described relations with neighboring Greece as stable and good, noting that they have a long tradition based on friendship and cooperation.

He stressed that although Yugoslavia and Greece have identical or very similar views on many important issues, there are also issues on which agreement does not exist.

One serious problem is certainly the negation of the Macedonian nation, culture, language and minority, said Vajgl, adding that this issue was on the agenda of all political contacts with Papoulias.